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# LIVES

OF SEVENTY OF THE MOST EMINENT

# PAINTERS, SCULPTORS, AND ARCHITECTS

VOLUME IV.

Michelangelo. The Delphic Sibyl.

# LIVES OF SEVENTY

OF THE MOST EMINENT

# PAINTERS, SCULPTORS

AND

# ARCHITECTS

BY

GIORGIO VASARI.

EDITED AND ANNOTATED IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT DISCOVERIES

BY

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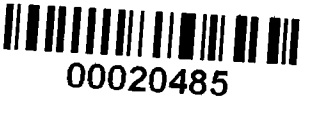

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# ANTONIO DA SAN GALLO, FLORENTINE ARCHITECT

[Born 1485; died 1546.]

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—For the works of San Gallo in Rome see Letarouilly, *Édifices de Rome Moderne*, 1868–74, as well as its continuation the *Baudenkmäler Roms* of Heinrich Strack, Berlin, 1891. Letarouilly and Simil, *Le Vatican*, etc., 1882; for his military works see *Padre Alberto Guglielmotti de' Predicatori, Storia delle Fortificazioni nella Spiaggia Romana risarcite ed accresciute dal* 1560 *al* 1570, Rome, 1880. By the same author, *I Bastioni di Antonio da Sangallo disegnati sul terreno per fortificare e ingrandire Civita Vecchia l'anno* 1515. Camillo Ravioli, *Notizie sui lavori d'architettura militare sugli scritti o disegni editi ed inediti dei Nove da Sangallo*, Rome, 1863, and also *Intero alla relazione delle rocche della Romagna Pontificia fatta nel* 1526 *da Antonio Picconi da San Gallo e da Michele Sanmicheli*, Rome, 1858. See also H. von Geymüller, *Documents inédits sur les manuscrits et les œuvres d'architecture de la famille des San Gallo*, Paris, 1885.

HOW many great and illustrious princes, richly abounding in the goods of fortune, would leave an enduring glory attached to their names, if, together with the distinction of riches and station, they had also received minds attuned to greatness and disposed to such pursuits as not only tend to promote the embellishment of the world, but are likewise capable of securing infinite advantage and perpetual enjoyment to the whole human race! But what can, or should great men and princes do the most effectually to profit by the various endowments of those who serve them, and to maintain the memories of such men and of themselves in perpetual duration, if not to erect great and magnificent edifices? For what, of all the vast outlay made by the ancient Romans when at the topmost summit of their glory, what other has remained to us, upholding the eternal splendour of the Roman name, what but those

relics of buildings which we honour almost as something holy, and labour incessantly to imitate as the sole erections really beautiful? And to what extent the minds of certain princes who were ruling in the days of the Florentine architect Antonio da San Gallo were disposed to these things, will be clearly seen in the life of that master which we are now about to write.

Antonio was the son of Bartolommeo Picconi,[1] a cooper of Mugello, and having learned the craft of the carpenter in his early youth, he departed from the city of Florence on hearing that his uncle Giuliano da San Gallo was employed in Rome, together with Antonio da San Gallo[2] the brother of Giuliano; and followed them thither,[3] where he devoted himself with his whole heart to the study of architecture, giving promise at once of that distinction which we have seen him evince at a more mature age in the many works produced by his skill in all parts of Italy.[4]

Now it chanced that Giuliano, disabled by the internal disease with which he had been long afflicted, was compelled to return to Florence, but Antonio had by that time been made known to the architect Bramante of Castel Durante, who was also become old. and being no longer able to work

[1] The family name was Coriolani and not Picconi; or in full, if we follow the Florentine usage of adding the names of father and grandfather, he was Antonio di Bartolommeo d'Antonio Coriolani, called Antonio da San Gallo. This name is taken from a copy of Vitruvius, once belonging to the artist and now in the possession of M. Eugène Piot of Paris (Milanesi, V., p. 448, note 1).

[2] For the lives of these masters see pages 95–119 of Vol. III. of the present work. Milanesi says that the ancestors of Antonio on his mother's side were farmers of San Bartolommeo a Molezzano in the Mugello, and that their name, once Cordini or Cardini, gradually became changed to Coriolani.

[3] He was called "Sangallo the Younger," or "the nephew," to distinguish him from the elder architects.

[4] Signor Aurelio Gotti publishes in the second volume of *Vita di Michelangelo* a short *codex* from the Biblioteca Nazionale of Florence written by Antonio; it is an introduction to a commentary which he meant to write on Vitruvius; in it he says that he went to Rome when eighteen years old, and for forty-one years served different Popes, under Bramante and Raphael, and finally succeeded Peruzzi as Architect-in-chief of St. Peter's.

as he had formerly done, from gout and paralysis of the hands, received assistance from Antonio in the designs which he was preparing. These the young architect completed to such perfection that Bramante, finding his sketches executed with the utmost exactitude, became more and more disposed to leave the charge of such works as he was then conducting to the care of Antonio, Bramante describing the arrangements which he desired to have made, and supplying all the compositions and inventions for every operation that remained to be accomplished.

With so much judgment, care, and expedition did Bramante then find himself served on all these occasions by Antonio, that in the year 1512 he committed to him the care of the Corridor which led towards the trenches of the Castel Sant' Angelo, an occupation which brought him in ten scudi per month; but the death of Pope Julius II. then intervening, the work remained unfinished. Antonio had meanwhile already acquired the reputation of possessing considerable ability in architecture, and was reputed to give evidence of a very good manner in building; this caused Alessandro, who was first Cardinal Farnese, and afterwards Pope Paul III., to conceive the idea of restoring, by his help, the old palace in the Campo di Fiore, in which he dwelt together with his family; and Antonio, anxious to put himself forward, prepared numerous designs in different manners. Among these, one by which the fabric was divided into two separate dwellings was that which best pleased his most reverend lordship, he having two sons, the Signor Pier Luigi and the Signor Ranuccio, whom he thought he should leave well accommodated by that arrangement. The edifice [5] was commenced accordingly; a certain portion being regularly constructed every year.

The church of Santa Maria di Loreto in Rome, which is situate at the Macello de' Corbi, near the Column of Trajan, was at this time in course of erection, and was finished by

[5] See note 43.

Antonio with decorations of the utmost beauty;[6] soon after the completion of this work, Messer Marchionne Baldassini caused a Palace to be erected near Sant' Agostino, after the designs and under the direction of Antonio. This building is arranged in such a manner, that small as it is, it merits to be and is considered the most commodious and most judiciously arranged dwelling in Rome: the steps, the court, the loggie, the doors, the communications, all parts, in short, are distributed in the most admirable manner, and each separate portion is finished with the most perfect grace.[7] Messer Marchionne was highly satisfied with this result, and determined that the Florentine painter, Perino del Vaga, should adorn one of the Halls with paintings of historical representations and other figures, as will be further described in his life, and these decorations imparted infinite grace and beauty to that portion of the fabric. The House of the Centelli family, near the Torre di Nona, was likewise completed under the direction of Antonio; this also is small, but exceedingly commodious.[8]

No long time elapsed after these things before the architect was sent to Gradoli, a place within the domain of the most reverend Cardinal Farnese, where he directed the building of a very handsome and commodious Palace for that Prelate;[9] and in his way to Gradoli, he performed a very important service, the restoration, namely, of the Fortress of Capo di Monte, which he furthermore caused to be surrounded by a low wall of most judicious construction. He prepared, at the same time, the design for the Fortress of Capraruola;[10] and Monsignore, the most rev-

[6] Begun by Antonio da San Gallo in 1507. The cupola is by Giacomo del Duca.

[7] It is uncertain to-day what palace was meant by Vasari.

[8] This house has been destroyed.

[9] The palace still exists.

[10] The famous pentagonal palace of Vignole at Capraruola *perhaps* followed as to plan and proportions San Gallo's work there.—Milanesi, V., p. 451, note 4. According to M. Müntz, *La Fin de la Renaissance*, p. 342, note 2, Peruzz gave the pentagonal form to his own plan which he had suggested for th

erend Cardinal Farnese, perceiving himself to be served in a manner so satisfactory by Antonio in these numerous works, was constrained to feel great good-will for him, and as his estimation of him continually increased, he always favoured Antonio in all his undertakings to the utmost of his power.

The Cardinal Alborense, then desiring to leave a memorial of himself in the church of his native city, caused Antonio to construct a marble chapel in the church of San Jacopo degli Spagnuoli, with a tomb for himself. This chapel was afterwards painted, in the intercolumniations that is to say, by Pellegrino da Modena, as I have related: on the altar, likewise, there was placed a very beautiful statue in marble of San Jacopo which was executed by Jacopo Sansovino. The whole work is considered a very fine one, the architecture being greatly extolled, more particularly for the marble vaulting, which has octangular compartments of great beauty.[11]

No long time after the completion of this work, Messer Bartolommeo Ferratino, for his own convenience and the enjoyment of his friends, as well as in the hope of leaving an enduring and honourable memorial of himself, caused a palace to be built by Antonio on the Piazza d'Amelia, and this also is a very creditable and beautiful work, from which the architect derived no small reputation as well as advantage.

Now at that time Antonio di Monte, Cardinal of Santa Prassedia, was in Rome, and desired that Antonio should build for him the Palace, in which he afterwards dwelt, and which looks into the Piazza, whereon stands the Statue of Maestro Pasquino.[12] In the centre of that side which is

villa. See also the fine reproduction, M. Müntz, *op. cit.*, of the engraving of 1699.

[11] In the Uffizi collections there is a pen drawing by Antonio for San Jacopo degli Spagnuoli (Vol. II., a. c. 28, *tergo*, n. 75).

[12] When the new palace of Don Luigi Braschi Onesti was built at the same place San Gallo's work was in great measure preserved by the architect Cosimo Morelli. The Pasquino mentioned is the famous fragment of a statue

turned to the Piazza, the Cardinal caused a Tower to be erected, and this was adorned from the first to the third story with a beautiful composition of columns and windows, all arranged and completed after the design of Antonio with infinite judgment and grace; it was then decorated, both within and without, by Francesco dell' Indaco, with figures and historical representations in terretta.

Antonio was now much employed by the Cardinal of Rimini also, and that Prelate commissioned him to erect for his use a Palace at Tolentino in the March.[13] For this work he was not only most liberally rewarded by the Cardinal, but was ever afterwards considered by that personage to have laid his lordship under great obligations. While these matters were in progress, and the fame of Antonio, increasing largely, became bruited abroad, it happened that the advanced age of Bramante, with various infirmities, rendered him the denizen of another world, whereupon three architects were immediately appointed by Pope Leo to take charge of the church of San Pietro, Raphael of Urbino, namely, Giuliano da San Gallo (the uncle of Antonio), and Fra Giocondo da Verona. But no long time had elapsed before Fra Giocondo left Rome, and Giuliano da San Gallo having become old, received his dismissal from the Pontiff, and was enabled to return to Florence. Then Antonio, being in the service of the most reverend Cardinal Farnese, earnestly requested him to make supplication to Pope Leo, to the intent that the place of his uncle Giuliano might be granted to himself. And this was a thing very easy of attainment, first, because of the abilities of Antonio, which rendered him worthy of that appointment, and next on

of Menelaus, or of a gladiator (see M. Lafon, *Pasquin et Marforio*, 1861), which got its modern name from one Pasquino, a satirical tailor, who lived close by it. For years it was the custom to fasten political satires to this statue, the answers to which were posted upon the almost equally well-known figure of Marforio. These satires received the name of "Pasquinades" from Maestro Pasquino.

[13] There is a plan of the palace in the Uffizi collection of drawings (Vol. IV., a. c. 67, n. 171, *bis*). See Milanesi's commentary.

account of the interest made for him by the friendly feeling that existed between the Pontiff and the most reverend Cardinal; thus, in company with Raphael da Urbino, Antonio continued the building, which proceeded coldly and slowly enough.

About this time Pope Leo repaired to Civita Vecchia, to fortify that city, and with him there went a large number of nobles, Giovan-Paolo Baglione and the Signor Vitello among others, with certain men of distinction for ability, as were the engineer Pietro Navarro, and the architect Antonio Marchisi, who then superintended the Fortifications. The latter had repaired thither from Naples, by command of Pope Leo, and as the discourse very frequently turned on the best methods of fortifying Civita Vecchia, opinions respecting the same were many and various, some proposing one design and some another. Among so many plans, Antonio da San Gallo displayed one which was declared by the Pontiff and all those nobles and architects, to be superior to all the rest, both for beauty and strength; it was further commended for the admirable forethought displayed in its many appropriate provisions.[14] This brought Antonio into very great credit with the court, and his abilities were soon afterwards further displayed by the reparation of a very serious oversight which he effected, and the matter was on this wise :—

Raphael of Urbino, for the purpose of obliging certain persons about the court,[15] had permitted several void spaces to be left in the walls beneath the papal apartments and loggie, to the great injury of the whole fabric, seeing that the strength of those parts was not able to support the weight laid upon them, and the edifice already began to show signs of weakness from the insufficiency of power to sustain the superincumbent weight; nay, that part would

[14] A. Guglielmotti has proved that Antonio eventually did build this fortification.

[15] This incident showing how the *Grazioso Raffaello* was sometimes too *Grazioso* is referred to in the life of the latter.

without doubt have come down, had the abilities of Antonio not been brought to aid: but he, by means of piles and beams, filled in those little chambers or cavities thus left in the building, and, refounding the whole, imparted so much strength to the walls, that they were rendered firmer and more secure than they had ever been.

Meanwhile the Florentine nation, or community of that people abiding in Rome, had commenced the erection of their church, which is situate behind the Banchi in the Via Giulia, after a design prepared by Jacopo Sansovino; but they had brought their fabric too close to the river, and saw themselves compelled to expend a sum of twelve thousand scudi on foundations which had to be laid in the water. This was effected in a very secure and beautiful manner by Antonio da San Gallo, and the method for doing this, which Jacopo Sansovino could not discover, was found by Antonio, who erected several braccia of the edifice on the water, making a model for the same which was of such extraordinary beauty, that the work, had it been completed after that model, would without doubt have been most admirable and even astonishing. It was nevertheless a great mistake to bring the fabric so close to the river, and their having done so proves that there was but little discretion in those who were then chief of the Florentine nation in Rome. It is certain that architects should never be permitted to found a church of such extent in a river so violent, for the mere sake of obtaining some twenty braccia of length, thereby casting away so many thousands of scudi for no better purpose than that of having ever afterwards to maintain an eternal combat with the waters.

These rulers were besides all the more to blame, because they might very easily have raised their church on land had they been willing to extend their limits in another direction, and agreed to give the building a different form, nay, what is more, they might have almost brought the whole to completion at the cost here expended so injudiciously. But if those who governed the affair put their trust in the riches

possessed by the merchants of that nation, they were taught in good time the perfect fallacy of their hopes, since in all the years that the papal throne was held by Leo X., by Clemente de' Medici, by Julius III., and by Marcellus (although the latter it is true occupied it but a short time), all of whom were of the Florentine people;—through all the time of these pontiffs, I say, and notwithstanding the greatness of so many cardinals and the riches of so many merchants, the building has remained, and still remains at the same point wherein it was left by our San Gallo.[16] It is manifest therefore, that architects, and all else who have to do with the erection of buildings, should think much and well of the end, taking everything carefully into consideration, before they lay hands on a work of importance.

But to return to Antonio: this architect restored the Fortress of Monte Fiascone, which had been constructed by Pope Urban, and for the restoration of which he received commission from the Pontiff, who took him to those parts one summer in his train.[17] In the island of Viscentina[18] also, which is in the lake of Bolsena, he built two small temples for the Cardinal Farnese, one of which he made an octangle on the outside, and round within, while the other was a square externally, but octangular within, the latter having four niches at the angles, one at each angle namely. These two little temples, completed as they were in a very fine manner, bore testimony to the extent of Antonio's abilities and to the variety which he was capable of imparting in architecture.[19] While they were still in course of erection, Antonio returned to Rome, where he commenced a palace for the Bishop of Cervia; that fabric was situated at the corner of Santa Lucia, where the New Mint now stands, but the building was not brought to completion.

[16] It was afterward finished by G. della Porta. There is a long passage regarding this church in the life of Michelangelo.

[17] This fortress was almost destroyed in Bottari's time.

[18] Bisentina.

[19] These temples still exist.

This architect constructed the church of Santa Maria di Monferrato [20] which is near the Corte Savella, and is considered exceedingly beautiful; he also built a house for a certain Marrano which is behind the palace of Cibo, and near the houses of the Massimi family.

Then followed the death of Pope Leo X., and with him were buried all those beautiful and noble arts which had been recalled to life by his care and by that of his predecessor Julius II.; for when Adrian VI. succeeded to the pontificate, the arts and talents of all kinds were held in so little esteem, that if he had long retained the apostolic seat, there would once more have happened in Rome under his government what had taken place at a former period, when all the statues left by the Goths, the good as well as the bad, were condemned to the fire. Nay, Pope Adrian had already begun, perhaps in imitation of the pontiffs of the times just mentioned, to talk of his intention to destroy the chapel of the divine Michelangelo, declaring it to be a congregation of naked figures, and expressing his contempt for the best pictures and statues, which he called sensualities of the world, and maintained them to be shameful and abominable inventions. This caused not only San Gallo but all the other men of genius to repose during the pontificate of that Pope, seeing that no works of any kind were proceeded with in Adrian's time; nay, to make no mention of other buildings, there was scarcely anything done to the church of San Pietro to the progress of which he might at least have proved himself friendly, since he displayed so much enmity for all worldly things.[21]

[20] This Monferrato was built in 1495, and therefore not by Antonio. Though there are drawings by him referring to it, he may have only made alterations. Francesco da Volterra added a *façade* later. Milanesi, V., p. 456, note 2.

[21] At a time when the venality of the Italian Church had given birth to the tremendous schism that took from it half of its followers, it is possible that the good Flemish Adrian may have neglected the arts and yet found much to think of for the service of the Papacy, but it is easy to understand and sympathize with Vasari's point of view. No reform was needed in the arts and no one reformer could stop their course—not even Savonarola, who indeed did not try to stop, but only to somewhat regulate, the latter. It was not till the

At this time therefore, Antonio found leisure to give his attention to works of no great importance, and under that Pontiff he restored the side-aisles of the church of San Jacopo degli Spagnuoli, furnishing the principal front with handsome windows. He also constructed the tabernacle for the image of the bridge which is in Travertine, and, though small, is a very graceful work ;[22] it was afterwards adorned by Perino del Vaga, with a beautiful painting in fresco. The unfortunate arts were already beginning to suffer great wrong from Adrian's modes of thinking, when Heaven, taking pity upon them, decreed that by the death of one man thousands should receive new life ; wherefore the command went forth which removed Pope Adrian from this life, and made him give place to one who could more worthily fill the station which he had held, and who would handle the affairs of this world in a different spirit. Such was Pope Clement VII. his successor, full of generous sentiments, pursuing the traces of Leo, and the other forerunners of his illustrious house ; and, remembering that in his cardinalate he had already called many fine memorials of himself into existence, he considered that during his papacy it behoved him to surpass all who had preceded him, in the erection, restoration, and adornment of buildings.

The election of this pontiff was thus as the restoration to life of many a timid and dejected spirit, many were the artists consoled and reassured by that event ; and to those who had sunk into despair, the accession of Clement imparted new courage and unhoped-for life ; yea, these spirits, thus resuscitated, then produced those noble and beautiful works, which we now behold with so much admiration. Antonio was among the first of those who were called into

arts had spent themselves that they suffered from churchly influence and became in the seventeenth century pietistically sentimental.

[22] The *Immagine del Ponte* still keeps its name, and the tabernacle still exists "in the angle of an old house not far from Ponte Sant' Angelo." So far Milanesi; but the editors, in view of the very recent changes which have taken place in the quarter of Rome here referred to, are doubtful whether Milanesi's statement still holds good.

action by the new pontiff, and, receiving a commission from his Holiness for the restoration of the court before the loggie of Raphael, he set instantly to work. The court was soon rendered by his labours a very beautiful and commodious one, for whereas the passage had previously been by narrow and tortuous ways, San Gallo extended the latter and gave all a better form. But this part of the palace is not now as Antonio left it, Pope Julius III. having taken from it the granite columns wherewith it was adorned, to decorate his villa with the same; the place is therefore entirely changed.

The principal façade of Old Mint of Rome, which is situate in Banchi,[23] was very beautifully restored by Antonio, who turned the angle of that building in a circular form, which is considered a very difficult thing to accomplish, and is much admired; on this building the architect placed the arms of the Pontiff. The death of Pope Leo had prevented the completion of the papal Loggie, and the carelessness of Pope Adrian had caused them to remain in their unfinished state; in his pontificate they were indeed not even touched, but Antonio was now commanded to proceed with them, and at the desire of Pope Clement, they were at length brought to a conclusion.

His Holiness then determined to fortify Parma and Piacenza, when, after many plans and models had been made by divers artists, Antonio was sent to those places, and with him Giuliano Leno, the inspector of the fortifications; San Gallo had his disciple Labacco to assist him in this work, and Pier Francesco da Viterbo,[24] a very skilful engineer, was also there, as was the Veronese architect Michele da San Michele; when all together they brought the designs for those fortifications to perfection.[25] Antonio then left

[23] The Bank of San Spirito; it was for a time attributed to Bramante.

[24] Francesco was born 1470, and died 1534.

[25] There are many drawings in the Uffizi collections made for these fortifications. (See Milanesi's Commentary, V., pp. 515–516.) Somewhat later, under Pope Paul III., Parma and Piacenza were, as possessions of the Farnese, especially disputed points.

the others remaining there and returned to Rome. Here he received a commission from the Pope to build certain apartments in the Papal palace, where there was but little convenience in respect to the chambers ; he commenced those over the Ferraria accordingly, where the public consistory is now held, and these he arranged in such a manner that the Pope was highly satisfied with his work, and caused him to erect rooms for the chamberlains of his Holiness above those before mentioned. Over these chambers, moreover, Antonio raised others, which were exceedingly commodious, although the construction thereof was a very difficult undertaking by reason of the new foundations required for the same. On this point Antonio was of a truth very skilful, his buildings never show a crack, nor has there ever been one among the architects of modern times who has proved himself to to be more cautious, or who has displayed greater prudence in the execution of masonry.

In the time of Pope Paul II. the church of the Madonna of Loretto was very small, and had its roof erected immediately over the columns, which were constructed of brick in a very rude manner ; but during the pontificate of that Pope, this church was partially rebuilt and enlarged to the extent we now see, by favour of the genius and skill of Giuliano da Majano. Under Sixtus IV. and others it was continued to a certain height, as we have before said ; but in the year 1526, and in the time of Pope Clement VII., although there had before never been the slightest intimation of decay perceived, the edifice began to crack in such a manner, that not only were the arches of the Tribune in danger of falling, but the whole church also was in many places threatened with ruin, the cause being that the foundations were not sufficiently strong, nor of adequate depth. Antonio was therefore sent to Loretto by the Pontiff, to the end that he might repair so grievous a disorder ; and having arrived there, he gave the requisite supports to the arches, and providing for every demand, like the bold and judicious architect that he was, he restored the whole

fabric, strengthening the piers and walls both within and without, giving the building a beautiful form in the whole; and carefully regulating the proportions of each separate part; he thus finally rendered the walls strong enough to bear any weight that might require to be laid on them, however massive.

Antonio continued the transept and aisles of the church in one and the same order, adorning the architraves over the arches with superb mouldings; the frescoes and cornices also being equally beautiful: he likewise imparted the utmost richness to the basement of the four great piers, which, passing around the eight sides of the tribune, support the four arches, three of which are in the transepts namely, where the chapels are constructed, and the larger one in the middle aisle. Now this work does certainly merit to be celebrated as the best which Antonio ever performed, and that not without reasonable cause, for while he who constructs an entirely new building, erecting it from its foundations, has full power to raise or lower it at his pleasure, and to bring it to such perfection as he will or can, without impediment of any kind; he, on the contrary, who has to rectify or restore the edifice commenced by others, but who have succeeded badly, either by misfortune or by the inability of the artist, finds himself to possess none of these advantages; wherefore, it may be truly affirmed, that Antonio resuscitated the dead, and performed that which was all but impossible. Having effected all that we have related, the master then arranged for the covering of the church with lead, and gave directions for the manner in which all that still remained to be completed should be done; insomuch, that by his endeavours this most renowned temple may be said to have received a better form, and more perfect grace, than it had previously possessed, with the hope also of a very long duration.[26]

[26] These restorations and alterations at S. Maria di Loretto are proved to have been Antonio's, not only by Vasari but by Antonio's own drawings.

From Loretto Antonio returned to Rome, which he did after that city had been plundered, and when the Pope was abiding in Orvieto. The whole court was then suffering the utmost inconvenience from the want of water; for which cause, and by command of the Pontiff, Antonio constructed a fountain for the city of Orvieto, sinking the well for that purpose, and executing the work entirely in stone, the width being twenty-five braccia, and the descent by a winding stair. This is cut in the Tufa, one step above another, according to the winding of the path to the well, to the bottom of which one descends by these spiral stairs with all convenience; and the animals which carry the water, entering by one door, descend by one of these planes or steps, and having arrived at the platform where they take in their load, they receive the water, and, without turning round, they pass to the other branch of the spiral ascent which turns over that by which they descended, and thus emerge from the well by a different and opposite door to that by which they entered it. This construction, which was a most ingenious, useful, and admirably beautiful work, had almost attained completion before the death of Clement, and as the only part remaining to be executed was the mouth of the well, Pope Paul III. commanded that it should be finished, but not after the manner in which Pope Clement, following the counsels of Antonio, had intended to have it completed. The master was greatly extolled for this beautiful work, and it is certain that the ancients never produced anything of the kind which could be considered equal to it, whether as regards the art or laborious industry manifested in its construction; the circular space of the centre is contrived in such a manner that it gives light to the two staircases we have mentioned, even down to the bottom, by means of windows inserted at given distances.[27]

While this work was in progress, the same architect was also directing those of the fortress of Ancona,[28] which was

[27] The well was begun by Antonio in 1527, and completed by Mosca in 1540. It is 203 feet deep and is 43 feet wide.

[28] Begun 1532.

completed at a later period. Pope Clement at the same time resolved to construct an impregnable fortress in Florence, of which city his nephew Alessandro de' Medici was then Duke. Alessandro Vitelli, Pier-Francesco of Viterbo, and Antonio Sangallo took orders for this enterprise accordingly, and by them the Castel or Fort,[29] which stands between the gate of Prato and that of San Gallo, was erected and completed with such expedition that no edifice of the kind, either in ancient or modern times, was ever brought to conclusion in so short a period. Beneath one of the towers, that namely which was the first founded, and which was called the Tower of Toso, various inscriptions and medals were deposited with great solemnity and splendour. This work is now famous throughout the world, and is considered to be entirely impregnable.

By the direction of Antonio da San Gallo it was that the sculptor Tribolo, Raffaelo da Monte Lupo, Francesco da San Gallo, who was then very young, and Simon Cioli, were invited to Loretto, when the stories in marble, which had been commenced by Andrea Sansovino, were completed by those masters. Antonio likewise invited to the same place, the Florentine Antonio Il Mosca, an excellent worker in marbles, and who was at that time occupied, as will be related in his life, with the execution of a mantel-piece in stone, for the heirs of Pellegrino da Fossombrone, which proved to be a most divine work of carving, when fully completed.[30] This Mosca, I say, complying with the request of Antonio, repaired to Loretto, where he executed certain festoons and garlands in stone, which are most exquisitely beautiful; and the decoration of that Chamber of Our Lady was thus completed with diligence and promptitude by the cares of Sangallo, although he had at that time five works of importance on his hands. Nay, though all of these were in different places, and distant each from the

[29] The Fortezza del Basso or Castel San Giovambatista, was commenced July 15, 1534.—Milanesi, V., p. 462, note 2.

[30] It is now in Casa Falciani in Arezzo.

other, yet did Antonio so arrange his time that he never suffered any one to be neglected, and if at any time he was unable to be present when required at either of them, he sent his brother Battista as his substitute. These five works were: first the above-named Fortress of Florence, next that of Ancona, thirdly the chapel of Loretto, fourthly the Apostolic Palace, and finally the Well of Orvieto.

On the death of Pope Clement VII., and when Cardinal Farnese had been elected High Pontiff, taking the name of Paul III., Antonio San Gallo, who had been the friend of the new Pope during his cardinalate, rose into still higher credit, and his Holiness having created his son, Pier-Luigi, Duke of Castro, despatched Antonio to Castro,[31] there to prepare designs for the Fortress, which the Duke Pier-Luigi proposed to construct at that place, as also other designs for the Palace, to be erected on the Piazza, called l'Osteria, and for the mint, which is built in the same place of Travertine, and after the plan of that in Rome. Nor were these the only plans prepared by Antonio in that city; he also made designs for many other palaces and buildings of various character, for different persons, some natives of the place, and some strangers. These edifices were in many instances erected at such enormous cost that to whoever has not seen them, the account would seem incredible; they were finished at all points, with the most commodious arrangements, and in the richest manner; this being done by many, without doubt for the purpose of gaining credit with the Pope, for so it is that many seek to obtain favour for themselves by flattering the humour of princes, and in such cases as these it may at least be admitted that the thing deserves commendation in a certain sense, inasmuch as that it redounds to the convenience, advantage, and enjoyment of all.

In the year which saw Charles V. returning victorious from Tunis, and when there were erected in Messina, Apu-

[31] The town of Castro was destroyed in 1649, under Pope Innocent X., and these works perished.

glia, and Naples, very magnificent Arches of Triumph in celebration of so great victory, Antonio received a commission from the Pope to erect a Triumphal Arch of wood-work at the Palace of San Marco in Rome likewise, the Emperor being expected to visit that city also. This construction presented a square of four sides, being intended to form the entrance of two streets, and was so beautiful, that a more admirably proportioned or more superb work in wood has never been seen. Nay, if the splendour and cost of marble had been added to the forethought, art, and care, bestowed on the design, formation, and construction of this fabric, it might with truth have been enumerated—the perfection of its statues, decorations in painting, and other ornaments considered—among the seven wonders of the world. The Arch was placed at the outermost angle of the place, where it turns towards the principal piazza namely; it was of the Corinthian order, the four round columns of silver-gilt standing on each side, the capitals thereof being beautifully carved in foliage, and richly gilded with gold. Over the columns, both within and without, there were also very superb architraves, friezes, cornices, and ressaults, with four historical delineations painted between the columns, two on each side namely; so that there were in the whole eight of these representations, the subjects of several among them being events from the life of the Emperor Charles, as will be further described in the lives of the artists by whom they were painted.

The splendour of this erection was further enhanced by the addition of two figures in relief, each four braccia and a half high, which were placed on the summit of the two sides of the said arch, and presented the effigies of Rome, her figure standing between two others, representing Emperors of the House of Austria that is to say, those at the one side being Albert and Maximilian, those on the other Frederick and Rudolph. At the angles, on each of the sides were furthermore placed Four Captives, two on each side, with a vast number of Trophies, also in relief, and

with the Arms of his Majesty; the whole of which Antonio da Sangallo caused to be executed under his own direction by the most eminent sculptors and the best painters then to be found in Rome. Nor was this all; for not only was the arch directed by Antonio, but every other preparation for the festival to be held on the reception of this great and invincible monarch was arranged under the direction of the same artist.

Our architect then continued the Fortress of Nepi, for the Duke of Castro; with the fortifications of the entire city, which is very beautiful as well as impregnable. He laid out many streets also in the same place, and prepared designs for numerous houses and palaces by commission from the citizens thereof. His Holiness then caused the bastions of Rome, which are of great strength, to be constructed, and the Gate of Santo Spirito being included among these works; this last was built after the design and under the direction of Antonio, by whom it was adorned with decorations of Travertine, in the rustic manner. This work unites so much strength with its extraordinary magnificence, that it may well bear comparison with the labours of antiquity. Attempts were made, after the death of Antonio, by those who were actuated by envy rather than by considerations of a more reasonable character, to procure the destruction of this gate, and that by very unusual means; but they did not obtain their ends from the rulers who were in power at the time.[32]

It was under the direction of the same architect, that almost the whole of the foundations beneath the Apostolic Palace were strengthened and restored; many parts besides those we have mentioned, being in great danger of ruin, more particularly on one side of the Sistine Chapel, that whereon are the works of Michelagnolo namely, and on the façade also. This Antonio effected in such a manner, that not the slightest cleft or crack was afterwards perceptible; a work in which there was more danger than honour. He

[32] The gate still remains incomplete.

also enlarged the great hall of the Sistine Chapel, and in two lunettes on the principal side he constructed those two immense windows which we now see there, with their extraordinary sashes, and compartments thrown forward into the vaulting and decorated with stucco-work: all which was done at great cost, and is a work of so much beauty that this may be considered the richest and most beautiful hall which had then been seen in the world. To this hall the master added a magnificent staircase, forming the communication between the Sistine Chapel and the church of San Pietro: this also is so beautiful and commodious an erection, that nothing better has ever been seen, whether among the ancients or moderns. The Pauline Chapel, wherein the Sacrament is deposited, is likewise by Antonio Sangallo, and is a building of singularly beautiful and attractive character; it is indeed so exquisitely proportioned and arranged, that the graceful fabric appears to present itself arranged in festive smiles, as if to welcome the entrance of the visitor.[33]

At the time when contentions were existing between the Pope and the people of Perugia, Antonio constructed the fortifications of that city; this work, in the progress of which the dwellings of the Baglioni family were razed to the ground, was completed by the architect with extraordinary rapidity, and was considered to be very finely executed.[34] Antonio also built the fortress of Ascoli, and brought it to

[33] This remark of Vasari will be readily understood by those who have been present in the Pauline Chapel at some celebration, such as the Beatification of a dead Pope, a ceremony which one would think should be eminently solemn. The decorations added in such cases to the chapel make it seem almost like an opera-house, and the impression is not a little strengthened by the brightly lighted *loggie* or boxes filled with spectators.

[34] He commenced it in 1540 and it was completed in 1543. The palaces of the Baglioni, *ten* churches, and *four hundred* houses were thrown down to make place for it. In 1840 the Italians took a hand in the matter and threw down all that part of the fortress which could menace the liberty of the townsmen, but the bastions of the city remain, and are a wonderful sight from below, advancing at a sharp angle into the plain, like the beak of a gigantic stone galley in a green sea of wheat.

such a state in the course of a few days, that it could be held by the guard; whereas the Ascolani, as well as other people, having supposed that it could not be put forward to that extent under a lapse of years, stood confounded on seeing the garrison so instantly appointed and installed;—the people, I say, remained looking at each other in utter astonishment, and could with difficulty credit what their eyes beheld. For his own house in the Strada Giulia at Rome, Antonio subsequently made new foundations; these being needful for the better defence of the same against the floods of the Tiber; and he not only began but also completed a great part of the palace near San Biagio, which he then inhabited himself, but which is now the property of the Cardinal Riccio da Montepulciano,[35] who has added many beautiful rooms thereto, and decorated the whole at a great cost in addition to what had been expended by Antonio, which was not less than many thousands of scudi.

But all the works performed by Antonio da San Gallo for the use and advantage of the world, were as nothing in comparison with the model of the most venerable and most stupendous fabric of San Pietro at Rome,[36] which, having been first planned by Bramante, was afterwards re-arranged and enlarged in a most extraordinary manner, and after a new plan by himself, who imparted its due dignity to the whole as well as correct proportion and befitting arrangement to every separate part. The truth of this assertion may be seen by the model made of wood and finished at every point with the utmost exactitude, by the hand of San Gallo's disciple, Antonio Labacco. This model, by which San Gallo acquired a very great increase of fame, was engraved and published after his death, together with the ground-plan of the whole edifice, by Antonio Labacco, who

[35] Now the Sacchetti Palace.

[36] See Baron von Geymüller's valuable work entitled *Les Projets Primitifs pour la Basilique de St. Pierre de Rome, par Bramante, Raphael, etc.*, Paris, 1875–80. Antonio's model is now kept in the octagon of St. Gregory in the upper part of St. Peter's.

proposed thereby to make known the extent of ability possessed by San Gallo, and also to the end that all men might learn what had been the real opinions and intentions of that architect, seeing that new orders of a totally opposite character had been given by Michelagnolo, and out of these changes and new arrangements there had arisen many disputes and contentions, as will be related in the proper place.[37] It appeared to Michelagnolo and to many others by whom the model of Antonio Sangallo has been examined, and who have seen such portions of the work as were executed by him, that he has injured the effect of the whole, and diminished its force, by the many ressaults and divisions which he has adopted, and by members which are too small, as are the columns for example, and those arches above arches and cornices over cornices with which he has loaded his work.

It appeared also that the decoration or garland of columns, small and numerous, with which he had surrounded the two bell-towers of his plan as well as the four small tribunes and the principal Cupola, had failed to give satisfaction, neither did or do please very greatly all those minute pyramids of which he proposed to form the finish, seeing that in all these things the model does rather seem to imitate the Teutonic or Gothic manner than the good and ancient one now usually followed by the best architects. All these various parts being completed by Labacco[38] soon after the death of Antonio, it was found that the above-described model of San Pietro, in that which appertains to the wood-work and

[37] Michelangelo was told that the model "afforded a fine field." Michelangelo replied, "Aye, verily, for oxen and horned cattle, who understand but little of architecture." Buonarotti was not sparing of sharp words, but he exceeded even his usual measure in his treatment of Antonio. Architects have observed that this harsh language came ill from one who had in his own Laurentian Library made similar mistakes, and some of Michelangelo's biographers are of the opinion that he was at least partly to blame for the opposition of the Sangallican "sect" which followed the early friendship of Giuliano da San Gallo for the sculptor.

[38] Vasari calls Labacco Antonio d' Abaco.

the carpenters only, had cost a sum of 4184 scudi ; but the said Labacco, who had the charge of that work, did certainly acquit himself exceedingly well in the construction of the same, he being intimately acquainted with the details of architecture, as may be clearly perceived by the book which he has published in relation to the buildings of Rome, and which is indeed an extremely beautiful work. With respect to the model here in question, and which may now be seen in the principal chapel of San Pietro,[39] the length thereof is thirty-five palms and the width twenty-six, its height is twenty palms and a half, whence the completed work would have had a length, according to this model, of one thousand and forty palms or one hundred and four canne, and the width would have been three hundred and sixty palms or sixty-three* canne, for, according to the measure of the masons, the canna used at Rome consists of ten palms.

For the labour he had given to this model of his and for various designs presented by him, Antonio was adjudged by the superintendents, who were over the fabric of San Pietro to receive a sum of fifteen hundred scudi, and of these he was at once paid a thousand, but he never received the remainder, seeing that shortly after he had completed such model he passed to the other life. Antonio enlarged and increased the strength of the piers in the above-named church of San Pietro, to the intent that the weight of the tribune might repose securely thereon, he also filled in all the scattered parts of the foundations with solid material, and thereby rendered the whole so strong, that there is now no cause of fear lest the fabric should display further cracks, nor is there any chance of its being in danger of falling as was the case in the time of Bramante. And if this masterpiece of care and prudence were upon the earth instead of being hidden as it is beneath it, the work would cause the boldest genius to stand amazed, for which cause the name and fame of this admirable artist must ever retain

* A misprint for 36, copied from Giunti edition.

[39] See note 36.

a place among those most distinguished in the domain of art.[40]

We find that even as early as the times of the ancient Romans, the dwellers in Terni and the men of Narni were ever at the bitterest enmity with each other, and so does it remain with those people to the present day ; and the reason has been, that the lake of Marmora, sometimes becoming stagnant, frequently caused very great injury to one of the aforesaid communities ; but when the people of Narni would fain have given outlet to the waters, the men of Terni could by no means be brought to consent thereto, for which reason there has ever been strife between them, whether Pontiffs or Emperors were ruling in Rome. We find that in the time of Cicero, that orator was despatched by the senate to compose these differences ; but the quarrel remained unappeased nevertheless. In the year 1546 ambassadors were sent on the same subject to Pope Paul III., who thereupon commissioned Antonio Sangallo to repair to the place, and do his best for the termination of the contest. It was then resolved, by the advice of the architect, that an outlet should be made for the lake on the side whereon the wall is situated, and Antonio caused it to be cut through at that part, but not without extreme difficulty. The heat also was very great, and this, with other inconveniences, Antonio being now old and weakly, caused him to fall sick of a fever at Terni, when he soon after gave up the ghost.[41]

The death of Antonio was the occasion of infinite grief to his friends and kindred, many buildings also were much delayed by this event, more particularly the palace of the Farnese family, near the Campo di Fiore. Pope Paul III., while he was still Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, had already brought that fabric to a considerable height, the first

[40] This excellent remark of Vasari is supplemented by the great number of drawings left by Antonio, showing the infinite care and thought which had gone to this work upon St. Peter's.

[41] The certificate of the decease of Antonio da San Gallo is published by M. Müntz in the American Journal of Archæology, I., number 1. He died in 1546.

floor in the principal front was in process of construction, the inner hall and one side of the court-yard were likewise erected, but the building had not proceeded to such extent as to display the perfection of its details, when the Cardinal, being elected Pontiff, Antonio changed the whole plan, since it appeared to him that he had no longer to erect the palace of a Cardinal, but of a Pope. Having demolished certain of the old houses that stood around it,[42] therefore, and taken down the staircase, which he rebuilt in a more commodious form, he extended the court and the entire palace, enlarged the halls, added to the number of the rooms, and enriched the whole with elaborately-carved ceilings, and many other decorations.

Antonio had thus completed the principal front to the second floor, and nothing was now wanting than that the cornice, which was to surround the whole, should be added to the fabric; but as the Pope, who was a man of an aspiring mind and possessed very good judgment, desired to have a cornice more beautiful and richer than had ever been seen in any other palace whatever, he determined that, in addition to the designs prepared by Antonio, all the best architects of Rome should prepare one, each after his own manner, from which the Pontiff might then choose that which best pleased him, but intending, nevertheless, that Sangallo should carry the design chosen into execution. Thus it happened one morning, while the Pontiff was at breakfast in the Belvidere, that these collected designs were laid before his Holiness in the presence of Antonio, the masters proposing these plans being Perino del Vaga, Fra Bastiano del Piombo, Michelagnolo Buonarroti, and Giorgio Vasari, who was then very young and in the service of the Cardinal Farnese, by commission from whom and from the Pope, he had prepared not one only but two designs of different character for that work. It is true, that Buonarroti did not take his own design himself, but sent it by the

[42] The Colosseum and the Theatre of Marcellus became a quarry for the material out of which the Farnese Palace was built.

above-named Giorgio Vasari, who had gone to him to show the designs which he had made, to the end that Michelagnolo as a friend might give him his opinion respecting them. To Vasari, therefore, Michelagnolo gave his design, desiring that he would present it to the Pope, and would at the same time make an excuse for that he, being indisposed, had not brought it in person.

The designs being all laid before the Pontiff accordingly, his Holiness examined them all attentively and for a long time, commending all as ingenious and beautiful, but extolling that of the divine Michelagnolo above all. Now all this did not take place without some vexation to Antonio, whom that mode of proceeding on the part of the Pope could not much gratify, since he would fain have done every thing by himself; but the thing which displeased him more than all the rest was to see that Pope Paul made great account of a certain Jacopo Melighino of Ferrara, and even availed himself of his services as an architect in the building of San Pietro; nay, although Melighino possessed no ability in design and showed no judgment in his proceedings, the Pope had conferred on him a stipend equal to that of Antonio, on whom all the labours devolved. And this happened because this Melighino, having been a faithful follower of the Pope for many years without any reward, his Holiness was pleased to make it up to him in that manner. He had besides the care of the Belvidere, and of some other buildings belonging to the Pope.

When his Holiness, therefore, had sufficiently examined all the designs presented to him by the above-named masters, he remarked, perhaps by way of putting Antonio to the trial, "All these are beautiful, but it would not be amiss that we should look at one which has been made by our Melighino." Thereupon Antonio, getting somewhat angry, and convinced that the Pope was only making a jest of him, replied, "Holy Father, Melighino is but an architect in joke." Hearing which, the Pope, who was seated, turned towards Antonio, and bowing his head almost to the

ground, made answer: "Antonio, it is our pleasure that Melighino should be an architect in earnest, and so you may see by the stipend he receives." Having said this, he rose and went away, dismissing all who were present, and herein he perhaps intended to show that it is sometimes by the will of princes, rather than by their own merits, that certain men are conducted to such greatness as the said princes shall please to confer. The cornice in question was afterwards erected by Michelagnolo, who gave an almost entirely different form to the greater part of that palace, as will be related in his life.[43]

At the death of Antonio Sangallo, there remained behind him his brother, Battista Gobbo, a man of considerable ingenuity, who had devoted nearly the whole of his time to the buildings of his brother, but was not treated very well by him. This Battista did not live many years after Antonio, and when he died he left all that he possessed to the Florentine Brotherhood of the Misericordia in Rome, but with the condition that they should cause to be printed a book of Remarks on Vitruvius, which he had written. That book has, nevertheless, not been given to the world,

[43] This most imposing of Roman palaces is not so fortress-like as the Strozzi or Medici-Riccardi of Florence, nor so lightly sumptuous as some of the Renaissance palaces of Venice; it holds a place between the two classes, strong, massive, but for all that being no *château fort* within a city but a *château ouvert*, the open, garden-set palace of a Roman noble of the sixteenth century. M. Eugène Müntz, *La Fin de la Renaissance*, p. 335, note 1, cites M. de Navenne, First Secretary of the French Embassy at the Holy See, to the effect that in 1495 Alessandro Farnese, afterward Pope Paul III., bought the house which was afterward transformed into the Farnese Palace. Successive purchases of ground were followed by successive enlargements of the plan; the work began in 1517, and in 1534 Antonio da San Gallo, basing himself on the old plans, made new ones. The first two stories of the palace were built by Antonio, the cornice was added by Michelangelo, Vignole having collaborated (see the life of Michelangelo in this volume. See also C. Garnier in *L'Œuvre et la Vie de Michel-Ange*, and Letarouilly). Buonarroti also built the upper story (Corinthian) of the court. Its motive is repeated in the *façade* toward the river, which with its loggia was built either by Vignole or Giacomo della Porta (1580). Burckhardt, *Le Cicerone* (edition of 1892), second part, page 230, criticises the Farnese Palace severely. Letarouilly gives it high praise as the masterpiece of the Roman Renaissance.

although it is believed that it may be a good one, seeing that Battista was well acquainted with the details of his art, possessed admirable judgment, and was a most upright and sincere man.

But to return to Antonio. His death having taken place at Terni, he was carried to Rome and there borne to the tomb with very great pomp, being followed to his grave by all the artists in design and many other persons. His remains were deposited in the church of San Pietro, by command of the superintendents of that fabric, being placed in a sepulchre near the chapel of Pope Sixtus, which is in that church, and here he was honoured with the following inscription:

*Antonio Sancti Galli Florentino urbe munienda ac Publ. operibus, precipueq. D. Petri Templo ornan. architectorum facile principi, dum Velini Lacus emissionem parat, Paolo* Pont. Max. auctore, interamne intempestine† extincto, Isabella Deta[44] uxor Mœstiss posuit,* MDXLVI. III *Calend. Octobris.*

* *Paulo* in the Milanesi edition.

† *Impestive* in the edition of Milanesi.

[44] Antonio left two sons, Orazio and Giulio, the mother of whom, Isabella, or Lisabetta Deti, was a woman of singular beauty; the relation of his marriage with her is inserted in the first edition of our author, but is omitted in the second. After speaking of Antonio's return from Parma to Florence, Vasari proceeds to say: "And so, as it chanced that he looked about him in the streets as one does after a long absence on returning to the native place, he espied a young girl of most beautiful aspect, with whom for her beauty and her grace he forthwith fell in love; when conferring with his kindred respecting a marriage with this girl, they discouraged that purpose greatly, but in despite of all, and much to the discontent of his brother, he persisted in his intention, and fulfilled his wishes. Antonio had always shown himself harsh and obstinate towards his parents, nay, the life of his father was shortened visibly by the grief he felt at being abandoned by his son. This woman, whom Antonio thus married against all counsel, soon proved herself exceedingly proud and haughty; she lived rather in the manner of a most splendid lady than of an architect's wife, running into such disorders and making such outlay, that her husband's gains, large as they were, proved as nothing to the pomps and vanities of this woman. She drove her mother-in-law from the house, and caused her to die in misery; never could she look with a peaceful eye at any one of Antonio's relations, she thought of nothing but exalting her own kindred, but as for his relations, they might get them beneath the earth. Yet, not for all this did Battista, who was singularly endowed by nature and

And of a truth, Antonio, having been a most excellent architect, has no less merited to be extolled and renowned, as his works fully demonstrate, than any other master in the same art, whether ancient or modern.[45]

richly adorned with goodness, refrain from honouring and serving his brother; but all in vain, for he never received any token of affection from Antonio, either during the life or at the death of the latter." The widow of Antonio soon married again, seeing that in the year 1548 we find mention of her as the wife of the Florentine Giovanni Romei of Castiglion Fiorentino, when she was involved in much trouble on account of her first husband's affairs.

[45] Although Antonio is only a sharer in the work, the Farnese palace is connected inseparably with his name, and like his uncles, the two Giamberti, Antonio da San Gallo the Younger remains a true type of the architect of the Renaissance, the very synonym for many-sided, tireless activity. These men were masons, builders, architect engineers, mining engineers, military engineers, travellers, and soldiers in time of need; they made endless drawings (see the long commentary of Milanesi which closes San Gallo's biography), and they were in keenest sympathy with the painters and sculptors who should decorate their buildings, which from Piacenza to Rome are to be found in nearly all of the important cities of central Italy; so that as of the Robbia in sculpture we may say that in architecture the typical *family* of Italian architects was that of the San Galli.

# MICHELAGNOLO BUONARROTI, FLORENTINE SCULPTOR, PAINTER, AND ARCHITECT

[Born 1475; died 1564.]

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—The bibliography relating to Michelangelo is practically endless and only a portion of it can be mentioned here. First in importance comes the mass of original material in the archives of the Casa Buonarroti at Florence. This material consists of letters, poems, memoranda, contracts, mostly autographs of Michelangelo himself; of copies made by his nephew, the younger Michelangelo, and of letters addressed by other people to the artist. All of this matter was left by the Commendatore Cosimo Buonarroti to the city of Florence in 1858 (his wife, Rosina Vendramin Buonarroti, had classified the manuscripts, etc.). The British Museum purchased, in 1859, a large collection of Michelangelo's letters from the Cavaliere Michelangelo Buonarroti, a nephew of the Commendatore Cosimo. Daelli of Milan, in 1865, published a number of letters written to, or concerning, Michelangelo, and some personal memoranda in the sculptor's own handwriting. The above comprises the greater part of the original material deriving directly from Michelangelo.

Access to the Buonarroti Archives was, by the Commendatore's will, made almost impossible; but in 1863 Signor Cesare Guasti was permitted to publish Michelangelo's poems from the texts in the archives (they were partially collated with a *codex* in the Vatican Library). Signor Guasti's book is still practically the classical edition, since the *Rime* of Michelangelo the Younger, 1623, was an entirely garbled version. In 1875, when Michelangelo's Quadricentenary was celebrated, the Commendatore Gaetano Milanesi, Curator of the Archives of Florence, published a complete edition of four hundred and ninety-five papers of Michelangelo, documents from all sources, including the Buonarroti Archives. The volume is the most important existing source for reference. Milanesi also edited *Les Correspondants de Michel-Ange.* I. *Sebastiano del Piombo* (Italian and French text), Paris, 1890. This volume contains only those letters which up to 1890 had been unpublished; a complete official edition of all Michelangelo's correspondence will, however, probably be issued by arrangement with the Government.

After the above-mentioned original documents come the invaluable lives by Condivi and Vasari. The first edition of Vasari, in 1550, contained a relatively short life of Michelangelo. Condivi, writing under the eye of the sculptor himself, corrected Vasari's faults and made an indispensable contribution to our knowledge of the artist. (See note 12 for details regarding Condivi's Life of Michelangelo.) Vasari, drawing liberally upon Condivi,

published a greatly enlarged Life of Michelangelo, the one which follows; it is especially valuable for the later part of the artist's career. The Dialogues of Francis of Holland and the works or letters of various contemporaries, Varchi, Busini, Vittoria Colonna, Aretino, Calcagni, Tommaso Cavalieri, Leonardo Sellajo, Daniele da Volterra, are interesting and important aids to our knowledge of the great sculptor. Those who wish relatively complete lists of works published upon Michelangelo should consult first of all Luigi Passerini, *La Bibliografia di Michelangelo Buonarroti*, Florence, 1875, a volume of 331 pages, and next the excellent *Bibliographie Michelangelesque*, arranged according to subject (pages 329 to 340, in *L'Œuvre et la Vie*, 1876) by M. Anatole de Montaiglon; it should, however, be remembered that these two Bibliographies only extend to the year 1876, whereas the Bibliography of Mr. Charles Eliot Norton, List of the Principal Books relating to the Life and Works of Michel-Angelo, is carried up to the year 1879.

Among the modern works upon Michelangelo which the average reader of to-day is likely to consult are several standard lives, Italian, German, French, and English. Signor Gotti's *Vita* (1875) was the first in which full use was made of documentary evidence, and up to the time of its publication was by far the most important contribution to our knowledge of the great Florentine. In 1876 the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* published (and afterward issued in book form) seven essays by eminent men, speaking each with authority regarding that side of the artist's character with which he was most competent to deal (M. Eugène Guillaume, the sculptor, writing *Michel-Ange Sculpteur*; Charles Garnier, the architect, having an essay upon *Michel-Ange Architecte*, etc.); the artist is considered also as painter and poet, and M. de Montaiglon contributes a life of Michelangelo which deals especially with historical facts as more or less separated from criticism. The book is perhaps the most completely helpful and comprehensive one published upon Michelangelo. John Addington Symonds's Life of Michelangelo Buonarroti is of great value to English readers both for its scholarship and its literary excellence. The author speaks rather as student, and even as poet, than as one who approaches his subject first of all from the plastic side, but his conclusions, though based upon wide and deep knowledge of all the literary sources obtainable, as well as upon the internal evidence of Buonarroti's works, are often independent of, and differ from, the opinions of other students of original documents regarding the artist; in addition, the author's conclusions are *expressed* with peculiar felicity, his book being fine from the literary point of view. Charles Heath Wilson's Life and Works of Michelangelo Buonarroti is peculiarly valuable for the author's modest and straightforward statement of personal investigations made by himself, from a scaffold expressly constructed, of the frescoes of the Sistine Chapel; the historical part of the book is based upon Signor Gotti's *Vita*. Anton Springer's *Raffaël und Michelangelo* (third edition, 1895) is the standard German contribution to Michelangelo literature, and deserves praise for its learning and concise criticism. Herr Hermann Grimm has had the honor of giving to the world the earliest history of Michelangelo in which the modern methods were to a considerable extent brought to bear upon the subject, although it antedates any considerable use of the Buonarroti archives.

Among the publications of matter contemporaneous with the epoch of Michelangelo are:

LETTERS.—G. Milanesi, *Le Lettere di Michelangelo Buonarroti, publicate, coi Ricordi ed i Contratti artistici*, Florence, 1875 (containing four hundred and ninety-five documents, namely, letters from 1497 to 1563, memoranda from 1505 to 1563, contracts from 1498 to 1548). G. Daelli, *Carte Michelangiolesche inedite*, Milan, 1865 (forty-six fac-similes of documents). Bottari, *Lettere pittoriche*, 1754–73. S. Ciampi, *Lettera di Michelangelo Buonarroti* (1542), *per giustificarsi contro la calumnia degli emuli e dei nemici suoi nel proposito del sepolcro di papa Giulio II.*, Florence, 1834. G. Milanesi, *Les Correspondants de Michel-Ange*, I., *Sebastian del Piombo*, Paris, 1890; Italian text by Milanesi, French text by M. Le Pileur. Portions of the correspondence preserved in the Buonarroti archives were published by Guasti in his notes to the *Rime di Michelangelo Buonarroti*, Florence, 1863. P. Giovio, supplement to the fragmentary *Dialogus de viris litteris illustribus*, written *circa* 1527. Biondo, *Della nobilissima pittura e della sua arte*, Venice, 1549. Ascanio Condivi, *Vita di Michelangelo Buonarroti*, Rome, 1553; reprinted in Florence, 1746; Pisa, 1823; Rome, 1858; Florence, 1858 and 1860; Vienna, 1874 (translated into German by Rudolph Valdeck—Vasari's two editions of Michelangelo's life are compared in this volume with Condivi's text); St. Petersburg, 1874 (translated into Russian by Michel Gelesnow). A particularly valuable edition is that of Carl Frey, Berlin, 1887 (see note 12 in this Life). Benedetto Varchi, *Sonnetti due in lode di Michelangelo Buonarroti quando fu scoperta la Sagrestia di San Lorenzo*, 1555. L. Dolce, *Dialogo della Pittura*, Venice, 1557. R. Borghini, *Il Riposo*, Florence, 1584; Milan, 1807. François de Hollande, *Dialogues sur la Peinture*, published first by Count A. Raczynski in his book *Les Arts en Portugal*, Paris, 1846. The following are discourses, etc., delivered at the funeral of Michelangelo: Benedetto Varchi, *Orazione funerale recitata nelle esequie di Michelangelo Buonarroti in Firenze nella chiesa di San Lorenzo*, Florence, 1564. Giov. Maria Tarsia, *Orazione*, etc., 1564 (with a discourse by Benvenuto Cellini). Benvenuto Cellini's Manuscript of the Funeral Oration is in the Archivio Buonarroti. Leonardo Salviati, *Orazione*, etc., 1564. *Esequie del divino Michelangelo Buonarroti, celebrate in Firenze dell' Academia de' Pittori*, Florence, 1564.

The following are among the BIOGRAPHIES AND GENERAL WORKS ON MICHELANGELO, arranged in chronological order:

Duppa, Life of Michael Angelo, with his Poetry and Letters, and Outlines of Sculptures, Paintings, and Designs, London, 1806, 1816, and 1846. G. Piacenza, *Vita di Michelangelo Buonarroti*, Turin, 1812. H. Beyle, *Histoire de la Peinture en Italie*, Paris, 1817, 1854. C. Fea, *Notizie intorno Raffaele*, etc., Rome, 1822. Eugène Delacroix, *Michel-Ange*, article in the *Revue de Paris*, XV., 1830; reprinted in the Piron Collection in *Eugène Delacroix, sa Vie ses Œuvres*, Paris, 1865. A. von Reumont, *Ein Beitrag zum Leben Michelangelo Buonarroti's*, Stuttgart, 1834. Quatremère de Quincy, *Histoire de la Vie et des Ouvrages de Michel-Ange Buonarroti*, Paris, 1835. G. Gaye, *Carteggio inedito d' artisti*, Florence, 1840. J. S. Harford, The Life of Michael Angelo Buonarroti, London, 1857; up to its date of publication this

was the most important work upon the artist which had appeared in English; a supplement with twenty plates, and notes by the author, by C. R. Cockerell, and by Canina, was published with the Life. A. F. Rio, *Michel-Ange et Raphaël*, Paris, 1857. C. Clément, *Michel-Ange, Léonard de Vinci, Raphaël*, Paris, 1861, 1867, and later editions. Hermann Grimm, *Michelangelo Buonarroti*, Hanover, 1860; Berlin, 1862; London (English translation of Fanny E. Bunnett, 1865); Hanover, 1873; Milan (Italian translation by Cossilla), 1875 (Grimm's Life was the first which drew largely from original documents in the British Museum). C. C. Perkins, Tuscan Sculptors, London, 1864 (French translation of M. Haussouillier); Paris, 1869. W. Henke, *Die Menschen des Michelangelo in Vergleich mit der Antike*, Rostock, 1871. G. Garden, *Michelangelo* (in Swedish), Wisby, 1872. G. Magherini, *Michelangiolo*, Florence, 1875. Charles Blanc, *Michel-Ange*, Paris, 1875 (extract from *L'Hist. des Peintres*, etc.). A. Springer, *Michelangelo in Rom., 1508–1512*, Leipsic, 1875. Aurelio Gotti, *Vita di Michelangelo Buonarroti, narrata coll' aiuto di nuovi documenti*, Florence, 1875. This important work, the standard Life in Italian, was the first in which the archives of the Casa Buonarroti were freely used; it also contains catalogues of the artist's various works. The illustrations included in the text do not do justice to the sterling character of the book. A. Gotti, *Michel-Ange et le Tombeau de Jules II. L'Art*, III., p. 90, Paris, 1875. F. Martinolli, *Vita di Michelangelo Buonarroti*, Florence, 1875. *L'Œuvre et la Vie de Michel-Ange*, Paris, 1876; this was originally published in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*. It is a valuable series of monographs by specialists. The professional eminence and technical knowledge of some of the contributors make this work especially notable, and its arrangement is particularly clear and consultable. The numerous illustrations are most of them old-fashioned outline cuts, memoranda of composition of line rather than anything else, but the reproductions of the Moses and of the Twilight, particularly of the latter, are superb and are works of art as reprodnctions. The essays are: Charles Blanc, *Le Génie de Michel-Ange dans le dessin*; Eugène Guillaume, *Michel-Ange, Sculpteur;* Paul Mantz, *Michel-Ange, Peintre;* Charles Garnier, *Michel-Ange, Architecte;* A. Mézières, *Michel-Ange, Poete;* Anatole de Montaiglon, *La Vie de Michel-Ange;* Louis Gonse, *Les Fêtes du centenaire de Michelange;* Anatole de Montaiglon, *Essai de Bibliographie Michelangelesque*. Charles Heath Wilson, Life and Works of Michelangelo, London, 1876; 2d edition, London, 1881; this Life, partly compiled from Signor Gotti's, is remarkable for the personal investigation of the Sistine frescoes, made by Mr. Wilson from a scaffold. These investigations make the book a valuable contribution to the study of Michelangelo. J. P. Richter, *Die neue Dokumente über Michelangelo, Lützow's Zeitschrift für Bildende Künst*, XI., pp. 55, 117, Leipsic, 1876. C. C. Perkins, Raphael and Michelangelo, Boston, 1878, one of the most excellent works upon the subject. L. Witte, *Michelangelo Buonarroti*, Leipsic, 1878. Anton Springer, *Raffaël und Michelangelo*, Leipsic, 1878–83–95. The above is the classical German Life of Michelangelo; it is particularly admirable for the careful hearing accorded to all witnesses and the impartial judgments rendered. The lives of Raphael and Michelangelo are co-ordinated in chapters, which, though not regularly alternating, are given now to one artist, now to the other. In the

two-volume edition of 1895 the copious notes are at the back of each volume, the illustrations are many, and most of them are good, though some of them are the old-fashioned outline wood-cuts. C. Boito, *Leonardo e Michelangelo*, etc., Milan, 1879. G. Campori, *Michelangelo Buonarroti e Alfonso I. d'Este*, 1881. F. Wickhoff, *Die Antike im Bildungsgange Michel-Angelos*, Innsprück, 1882. E. Müntz, *Raphael et Michel-Ange par M. A. Springer, Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 2d series, XX., p. 173, Paris, 1879. E. Müntz, *Une rivalité d'artistes au XVI^e siècle Michel-Ange et Raphaël à la cour de Rome*, Paris, 1887. E. Müntz, *La Fin de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1895. A. Gotti, *La scuola di Michelangelo e la scuola dei Caracci: studio critico*, Bologna, 1888. G. Fornasini, *Les dernières années de Michel-Ange d'après des nouvelles recherches*, Rome, 1889. H. Wölfflin, *Die Jugendwerke des Michelangelo*, Munich, 1891. J. Strzygowski, *Studien zu Michelangelo's Jugendwickelung* in the *Jahrbuch des K. preuss. Künstsammlungen*, XII., 4. Ludwig Von Scheffler, *Michelangelo, eine Renaissance Studie*, Altenburg, 1892 (a work especially devoted to a psychological study of Buonarroti's character). Emile Ollivier, *Michel-Ange*, Paris, 1892. J. A. Symonds, The Life of Michelangelo Buonarroti, London, 1893, the most important life in English. J. H. Middleton, Michelangelo, Encyclopædia Britannica. Russell Sturgis, Michelangelo, Johnson's Universal Cyclopædia. H. Knackfusz, *Michelangelo*, Bielefeld and Leipsic, 1895. E. Müntz, *Dessins inédits de Michel-Ange, Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, third period, XV., April, 1896.

The following works relate to the DRAWINGS OF MICHELANGELO:

W. Y. Ottley, The Italian School of Design, London, 1823. Catalogue of Original Designs of Michelangelo and Raphaël in the University Galleries, Oxford, 1848. J. Fisher, Seventy Etched Fac-similes, on a reduced scale, after the Original Studies by Michelangelo and Raffaello, in the University Galleries, Oxford, 1852. R. Weigel, *Die Werke der Maler in ihren Handzeichnungen*, etc., Leipsic, 1865. Burlington Fine Arts Club Catalogue of Designs of Raphaël, Sanzio and Michelangelo Buonarroti, London, 1870. J. C. Robinson, A Critical Account of the Drawings by Michael Angelo and Raffaello in the University Galleries, Oxford, 1870. *Album Michelangiolesco dei Disegni originali riprodotti in Fotolitografia*, Florence, 1875. L. Fagan, The Art of Michel Angelo Buonarroti in the British Museum, London, 1883. Gotti's *Vita di Michelangelo* contains a very long and important catalogue of the artist's drawings, and Signor Gotti also includes Mr. Louis Fagan's catalogue of Michelangelo's works existing in England.

The following works deal with MICHELANGELO AS SCULPTOR:

*Apollo e Marsia, bassorilievo in marmo attribuito a Michelangelo*, article by N. Baldoria in *L' Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, IV., p. 309. C. Hasse, *Der Giovannino des Michelangelo* in the *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst, Neue Folge*, IV., p. 178. B. Podestà *Intorno alle due statue erette in Bologna à Giulio II., distrutte nei tumulti di 1511, atti della Deputazione di Storia patria per le provincie di Romagna*, VII., 1868, pp. 106–30. A. de Montaiglon, *Notice sur l' ancienne Statue equestre, ouvrage de Daniello Ricciarelli et de Biard fils, Élevée a Louis, XIII. en 1639*, etc., Paris, 1851 and 1876. (The statue was commenced for Henry II. by Michelangelo.) For Bibliography of special works (paintings and statues) see as follows: Madonna of

Bruges, note 63; The Tomb of Julius II., note 80; Moses, 86; Visits to Carrara, note 150; Cartoon of Battle of Pisa, note 66; Sistine Vaulting, note 139; Flight from Florence, note 190; Last Judgment, note 215.

Among works relating to MICHELANGELO'S ARCHITECTURE ARE:

D'Aviler, *Cours d'Architecture qui comprend les ordres de Vignole et les batiments de Michel-Ange*, Paris, 1691. Fontana, *Il tempio Vaticano e sue origini*, Rome, 1694. G. J. de Rossi, *La Libreria Mediceo-Laurenziana Architettura di Mich. Angelo Buonarroti*, Florence, 1739. Poleni, *Memorie Istoriche della gran Cupola del Tempio Vaticano*, Padua, 1747. Carlo Fea, *Notizie intorno Raffalle Sanzio. . . . Michelangelo Buonarroti come architetto di San Pietro*, etc., Rome, 1822. P. Letarouilly, *Édifices de Rome moderne*, Paris, 1868, 3 vols. text; 3 vols. plates. H. von Geymüller, *Notizen über die Entwürfe zu St. Peter in Rom*, Carlsruhe, 1868. Henry von Geymüller, *Les Projets primitifs pour la basilique de Saint-Pierre de Rome*, Paris, 1875–88; this book, commonly referred to by its French title, is published in German and French, the German title being *Die Ursprünglichen Entwürfe für Sanct Peter in Rom*, Vienna. Constantin A. Jovanovits, *Forschungen über den Bau der Peterskirche zu Rom*, Vienna, 1877. *Saint-Pierre de Rome par Charles de Lorbac (pseud.)*, Rome, 1879. Letarouilly and Simil, *Le Vatican et la Basilique de St. Pierre de Rome*, Paris, 1882. R. Redtenbacher, *Beiträge zur Baugeschichte von St. Peter* in Rome. H. von Geymüller, *Raffaello Sanzio Studiato come Architetto*, Milan, 1884. Josef Durm, *Die Domkuppel in Florenz und die Kuppel der Peterskirche in Rom*, Berlin, 1887. Ad. Michaelis, *Michelangelo's Plan zum Capitol und seine Ausführung, Zeitschrift für Bildende Künst*, N. F. II., 184, May, 1891.

PORTRAITS.—C. D. S. Fortnum, on the original portrait of Michael Angelo by Leone Leone, "*Il Cavaliere Aretino*," Archæological Journal, London, No. 129. A. Zobi, *Discorso storico artistico intorno ad un ritratto rappresentante Michelangelo Buonarroti*, Florence, 1864. See also Symonds' Life of Michelangelo Buonarroti, Vol. II., pages 258–274.

The most important publication relating to MICHELANGELO AS POET is the edition of his works as follows:

Cesare Guasti, *Le Rime di Michelangelo Buonarroti, cavate degli autografi e pubblicate da Cesare Guasti, Accademico della Crusca*, Florence, 1863. See also Lanneau-Rolland *Michel-Ange Poëte*, Paris, 1860. In 1623 were published in Florence, by Giunti, the *Rime di Michelagnolo Buonarroti raccolte da Michelagnolo, suo nepote*; this was a garbled version of the great artist's sonnets. M. de Montaiglon cites, pp. 338–339, *L'Œuvre et la Vie*, more than thirty works upon the poetry of Michelangelo or of Vittoria Colonna. John Addington Symonds, Sonnets of Michelangelo and Campanella, London, 1878. K. Frey, *Die Gedichte des Michelangelo Buonarroti im Vaticanischen Codex, Jahrbuch der Königlichen Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Vol. I. M. de Montaiglon, *op. cit.*, pp. 339–340, cites nearly forty publications referring to the centenary of Michelangelo (1875); these include works upon the Buonarroti Gallery, odes, sonnets, speeches, essays, extracts from history, and special numbers of art or other periodicals devoted to the occasion. The Academy for July 15, 1876, also contains a bibliography of the Michelangelo festival.

WHILE the best and most industrious artists were labouring, by the light of Giotto and his followers, to give the world examples of such power as the benignity of their stars and the varied character of their fantasies enabled them to command, and while desirous of imitating the perfection of Nature by the excellence of Art, they were struggling to attain that high comprehension which many call intelligence, and were universally toiling, but for the most part in vain, the Ruler in Heaven was pleased to turn the eyes of his clemency towards earth, and perceiving the fruitlessness of so many labours, the ardent studies pursued without any result, and the presumptuous self-sufficiency of men, which is farther from truth than is darkness from light, he resolved, by way of delivering us from such great errors, to send to the world a spirit endowed with universality of power in each art, and in every profession, one capable of showing by himself alone what is the perfection of art in the sketch, the outline, the shadows, or the lights, one who could give relief to Paintings, and with an upright judgment could operate as perfectly in Sculpture ; nay, who was so highly accomplished in Architecture also, that he was able to render our habitations secure and commodious, healthy and cheerful, well proportioned, and enriched with the varied ornaments of art.

The Almighty Creator was also pleased to accompany the above with the comprehension of the true Philosophy and the adornment of graceful Poesy, to the end that the world might select and admire in him an extraordinary example of blamelessness in life and every action, as well as of perfection in all his works : insomuch that he might be considered by us to be of a nature rather divine than human. And as the Supreme Ruler perceived that in the execution of all these sublime arts, Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture, the Tuscan genius has ever been raised high above all others, the men of that country displaying more zeal in study, and more constancy in labour, than any other people of Italy, so did he resolve to confer the privilege of his

birth on Florence, as worthy above all other cities to be his country, and as justly meriting that the perfections of every art should be exhibited to the world by means of one who should be her citizen.

In the Casentino, therefore, and in the year 1474,[1] a son[2] was born, under a fated and happy star, to the Signor Lodovico di Lionardo Buonarroti Simoni, who as it is said, was descended from the most noble and most ancient family of the Counts of Canossa;[3] the mother being also a noble as well as excellent lady.[4] Lodovico was that year Podestà, or Mayor of Chiusi-e-Caprese,[5] near the Sasso della Vernia, where St. Francis received the Stigmata, and which is in

[1] According to the Florentine computation *ab incarnatione*, Michelangelo was born in 1474 (March 6th); by the Roman computation *ab nativitate*, the year was 1475. He was baptized on the 8th at the church of San Giovanni at Caprese. Lodovico, the father, set down the birth, baptism, and the names of the eight godfathers in his private notebook, and a record of this list still exists.

[2] His name was Michelangelo di Lodovico di Leonardo Buonarroti Simoni. The Buonarroti Simoni were a very ancient Florentine family of burgher-nobles.

[3] This statement that Michelangelo was descended from the very famous family of Canossa of Reggio, and had consequently imperial blood in his veins, was based principally upon the statements of his pupil Condivi, of Vasari, and of Varchi in his funeral oration. Borghini, Mazzucchelli, Litta, repeated Condivi, and the tradition was not disputed during Michelangelo's lifetime. Milanesi has disproved it by researches in the archives of Reggio, see Vol. VII., pp. 338–340. Gotti (*Vita di Michelangelo*, I., p. 4) cites a letter from Count Alessandro da Canossa which shows that Michelangelo was recognized as a kinsman. This letter is in the archives of the Casa Buonarroti; the sculptor, though so simple and frugal in his life, was very proud of this alleged descent.

[4] His mother, to whom he rarely referred, was named Francesca. She was the daughter of Neri di Miniato del Sera and Bonda Rucellai, and was nineteen years old at the time of Michelangelo's birth, his father being thirty-one. Michelangelo was the second of four children, all of whom he outlived. The elder line of the Buonarroti family became extinct with the death of Cosimo in 1858. Dr. H. Grimm has an article called *Michelangelo's mutter und seine stiefmutter* in the *Jahrbuch der Königlichen Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, VI., pp. 185–201.

[5] For a description of Michelangelo's birthplace, see Luigi Mercanti, *Illustrazione del castello di Caprese ove è nato il grande artista, corredata di disegni*, Florence, 1875.

the diocese of Arezzo. The child was born on a Sunday,[6] the 6th of March namely, at eight of the night, and the name he received was Michelagnolo, because, without further consideration, and inspired by some influence from above, the father thought he perceived something celestial and divine in him beyond what is usual with mortals, as was indeed afterwards inferred from the constellations of his nativity, Mercury and Venus exhibiting a friendly aspect, and being in the second house of Jupiter, which proved that his works of art, whether as conceived in the spirit or performed by hand, would be admirable and stupendous.

His office, or Podesteria,[7] having come to an end, Lodovico returned to Florence, or rather to the Villa of Settignano,[8] about three miles from that city, where he had a farm which he had inherited from his ancestors. The place is rich in stone, more especially in quarries of the *macigno*,[9] which are constantly worked by stone-cutters and sculptors, for the most part natives of the place, and here Michelagnolo was given to the wife of a stone-cutter to be nursed. Wherefore, jesting with Vasari one day, Michelagnolo once said, "Giorgio, if I have anything good in me, that comes from my birth in the pure air of your country of Arezzo, and perhaps also from the fact that with the milk of my nurse, I sucked in the chisels and hammers wherewith I make my figures."

Lodovico had many children, and as he possessed but slender revenues, he placed his sons as they grew up with

[6] On Monday rather.

[7] The office lasted only six months. Lodovico di Leonardo Buonarroti Simoni, the father of Michelangelo, was one of the twelve *Buonuomini* of Florence in the year 1473.

[8] The house, much restored, exists still at Settignano. A satyr drawn on a wall, and now shown as a youthful effort of Michelangelo, is really the work of a mature hand. Heath Wilson suggests that the artist, pleased with his childish drawing, may have retouched it during some later visit and given it strength. It is now defaced by over-painting.

[9] Millstone.

wool and silk weavers. When Michelagnolo had attained the proper age he was sent to the school of learning kept by Messer Francesco [10] of Urbino; but the genius of the boy disposing him to drawing, he employed his leisure secretly in that occupation, although reproached for it, and sometimes beaten by his father and other elders, they, perhaps, not perceiving his ability, and considering the pursuit he had adopted an inferior one and unworthy of their ancient family.

At this time Michelagnolo formed a friendship with Francesco Granacci, who, although also but a boy, had placed himself with Domenico Ghirlandajo to learn the art of painting; and being fond of Michelagnolo, Granacci supplied him daily with the designs of Ghirlandajo, who was then reputed one of the best masters, not in Florence only but through all Italy. The desire of Michelagnolo for art thus increased from day to day, and Lodovico, finding it impossible to divert him from his drawings, determined to try if he could not derive benefit from this inclination, and being advised by certain friends, he decided on placing him with Domenico Ghirlandajo.[11]

Michelagnolo was now fourteen years old. His life has been written [12] since this book of mine was first published,

[10] Francesco Venturini; in later life Michelangelo complained that he knew no Latin.

[11] He was apprenticed to Ghirlandajo, April 1, 1488.

[12] The writer alludes to Ascanio Condivi della Ripa Transone. Vasari's short biography in the first edition, though full of praise, was full also of inaccuracies. Condivi, an inmate of Michelangelo's house, and conversing daily with the artist, corrected these faults, writing simply and candidly of the great master. Vasari naturally resented the implied censure in the newer Life; nevertheless Condivi's work, after the actual writings of Michelangelo, will always be our most valuable authority. His Life appeared in 1553. Vasari took from it what was most important and interesting without accrediting his borrowing, and the famous name of the Aretine author soon eclipsed that of Condivi. The latter's work was reprinted in 1746, 1823, 1853, 1858, and 1874. It is printed on alternate pages of Carl Frey's *Sammlung Ausgewählter Biographien Vasari's*, II.—*Le Vite di Michelangelo Buonarroti scritte da Giorgio Vasari e da Ascanio Condivi con aggiunte e note*, Berlin, 1887, and to this edition all references to Condivi in the present work

by one who affirms that, for want of sufficient intercourse with him, many things have been related by me which are not true, and others omitted which should have been told, more especially respecting this point of time; Domenico Ghirlandajo, for example, being accused of base envy by the said writer, and declared to have given Michelagnolo no assistance in his studies. But that this is indeed false may be shown by certain entries which Lodovico the father of Michelagnolo, wrote with his own hand in one of Domenico's books, which book is now in the possession of his heirs: the words in question are these:—"1488, I acknowledge and record, this 1st day of April, that I, Lodovico di Lionardo di Buonarroti have engaged Michelagnolo my son to Domenico and David di Tommaso di Currado, for the three years next to come, under the following conditions: That the said Michelagnolo shall remain with the above-named during all the said time, to the end that they may teach him to paint and to exercise their vocation, and that the above-named shall have full command over him, paying him in the course of these three years twenty-four florins, as wages, in the first six namely, in the second eight, and in the third ten, being in all ninety-six lira." Beneath this entry is the following, also written by Lodovico: "The above-named Michelagnolo has received two florins in gold this sixteenth day of April. I, his father, Lodovico di Lionardo, having received twelve lira and twelve soldi on his account." [13]

These entries I have copied from the book itself, to show that what I then wrote, as well as what I now propose to write, is the truth, nor do I know any one that has had

are made. The same volume contains: *Michaelis Angelis Vita quam Paulus Iovius Episcopus Micerinus, conscripsit*, as also one hundred and eighty-seven passages from other lives of Vasari, the *Proemii* and the *Introduzioni* to the various parts which mention Michelangelo, so that this edition of Frey is of particular value to the student of Vasari.

[13] The contract is unusual, as showing that Michelangelo must have already had some capacity, since he was paid a small salary in the first year of his apprenticeship.

more intercourse with Michelagnolo than myself, or who has been more truly his friend or a more faithful servant to him than I have been; neither do I believe that any man can show a greater number of letters by his hand than he has written to me, or any written with more affection. This digression I have made for the sake of truth, and it shall suffice for all the rest of the Life. We will now return to the history.

The ability as well as the person of Michelagnolo increased to such an extent, that Domenico was amazed thereat, since it appeared to him that Michelagnolo not only surpassed his other disciples, of whom he had a large number, but even equalled himself, who was the master.[14] One day for example, as one of Domenico's disciples had copied with the pen certain draped female figures by Ghirlandajo, Michelagnolo took that sheet, and with a broader pen he passed over one of those women with new lines drawn in the manner which they ought to have been in order to produce a perfect form. A wonderful thing it was then to see the difference of the two, and to observe the ability and judgment of one who, though so young, had yet so much boldness as to correct the work of his master. This sheet I now keep as a relic, having obtained it from Granacci, to put it in my book of designs with other drawings by Michelagnolo. And in the year 1550, being in Rome, I showed it to Michelagnolo, who knew it at once and was rejoiced to see it again, but remarked out of his modesty, that he knew more when he was a boy than at that time when he had become old.

Now it chanced that when Domenico was painting the great Chapel of Santa Maria Novella, he one day went out,

[14] Condivi also intimates that Domenico Ghirlandajo was jealous of Michelangelo. It is the old story told of Leonardo and Verrocchio. Undoubtedly the pupil's talent surprised Ghirlandajo, and his independence of spirit may possibly have wounded the elder artist; at all events the master had no art influence upon the pupil, scarcely a trace of Ghirlandajo's style being found in the work of his scholar. Two drawings are, however, cited as examples of his influence. See E. Müntz, *La Fin de la Renaissance*, p. 377, note 2.

and Michelagnolo then set himself to draw the scaffolding, with some trestles, the various utensils of the art, and some of those young men who were then working there. Domenico having returned and seen the drawing of Michelagnolo, exclaimed, "This boy knows more than I do," standing in amaze at the originality and novelty of manner which the judgment imparted to him by Heaven had enabled a mere child to exhibit; for the work was, in truth, rather such as might have fully satisfied the artist, had it been performed by the hand of an experienced master. But if it was possible to Michelagnolo to effect so much, that happened, because all the gifts of nature were in him enhanced, and strengthened by study and exercise, wherefore he daily produced works of increased excellence, as began clearly to be made manifest in the copy which he made of a plate engraved by the German Martino,[15] and which procured him a very great name. This engraving was one which had just then been brought to Florence, and represented St. Anthony tormented by devils. It is a copperplate, and Michelagnolo copied it with a pen, in such a manner as had never before been seen. He painted it in colours also; and, the better to imitate the strange forms of some among those devils, he bought fish which had scales somewhat resembling those on the demons; in this painted copy also he displayed so much ability that his credit and reputation were greatly increased thereby.[16] He likewise copied plates from the hands of many old masters, in such sort that the copies could not be distinguished from the originals, for Michelagnolo had tinged and given the former an appearance of age with smoke and other things, so that he had made them look old, and when they were compared with the original, no difference could be perceived.[17] All

[15] Martin Schöngauer.

[16] Vasari speaks of a pen copy, Condivi of a painting on wood. A painting on wood, found by M. de Triqueti at Pisa, and another found at Bologna, have each been claimed as the copy made by Buonarroti. See also Heath Wilson in the Academy, May 21, 1881. Nothing has ever been proved in the matter.

[17] Symonds has justly remarked that at the time when Vasari published his

this he did, that he might give his own copies in the place of the old works which he desired to possess from the hand of their authors, admiring in them the excellence of art and seeking to surpass them, when engaged in the execution of his own works; by which he acquired a very great name.

Lorenzo the Magnificent retained at that time the Sculptor Bertoldo at his garden on the Piazza, not so much as Curator and Guardian of the many fine antiquities collected there at great cost, as because Lorenzo desired to form a good School of Painters and Sculptors; wherefore he wished that the students should have for their chief and guide the above-named Bertoldo, who had been a disciple of Donato. It is true that he was old and could not work, but he was an able and highly reputed artist, not only for the ability and diligence which he had shown in polishing the bronze pulpits of Donato his master, but also for the numerous casts in bronze of battle-pieces and other smaller works, which he had executed for himself, and in the treatment of which there was then no one in Florence who could surpass him. Having a true love for art, Lorenzo grieved that in his time there should be found no great and noble sculptors who could take rank with the many painters of high fame and merit then existing, and he resolved, as I have said, to form a School. To this end he requested Domenico Ghirlandajo to send to the garden any youth whom he might find disposed to the study of sculpture, when Lorenzo promised to provide for his progress, hoping thus to create, so to speak, such artists as should do honour to his city.

By Domenico, therefore, were presented to him among others, Michelagnolo and Francesco Granacci, as excellent for this purpose.[18] They went to the garden accordingly,

biographies "property in a drawing had not become a topic for moral casuistry."

[18] Condivi says that Michelangelo began his work in the Medici gardens by stone-cutting—blocking out marbles which were to be used in the library in-

and found there Torrigiano, a youth of the Torrigiani family, who was executing in terra certain figures in full relief which Bertoldo had given him. Seeing this, and aroused to emulation, Michelagnolo began to attempt the same; when Lorenzo, perceiving his fine abilities, conceived great hope of his future success, and he, much encouraged, took a piece of marble, after having been there but a few days, and set himself to copy the head of an old Faun from the antique. The nose of the original was much injured, the mouth was represented laughing, and this Michelagnolo, who had never before touched the chisel or marble, did in fact copy in such a manner, that the Magnifico was utterly amazed. Lorenzo, furthermore, perceived that the youth had departed to a certain extent from the original, having opened the mouth according to his own fancy, so that the tongue and all the teeth were in view; he then remarked in a jesting manner to the boy, "Thou shouldst have remembered that old folks never retain all their teeth, some of them are always wanting." Michelagnolo, who loved that Signor, as much as he respected him, believed in his simplicity that Lorenzo had spoken in earnest, and no sooner saw his back turned than he broke out a tooth, filing the gum in such sort as to make it seem that the tooth had dropped out,[19] he then waited impatiently the return of the Signor. When the latter saw what was done he was much amazed, and often laughed at the circumstance with his friends, to whom he related it as a marvel, resolving meanwhile to assist Michelagnolo and put him forward.

He sent for Lodovico, therefore, requesting the latter to entrust the youth to his care, and saying that he would

tended to hold the Medici manuscripts. The theory and practice of sculpture were thus studied at once in this Medicean school, which, with its system of pensions and its prizes, is called by M. Eugène Guillaume the earliest *École des Beaux-Arts*.

[19] The probable date of the Mask is 1489, and a head of a faun or satyr in the Bargello is accepted by some critics as the work here noted and is refused by others. If authentic, it is remarkable only as a boy's work, and as the piece of sculpture which caused Lorenzo to become the lad's patron and protector.

treat him as a son of his own, to which Lodovico consented gladly;[20] when Lorenzo gave orders that a room in his own house should be prepared for Michelagnolo, and caused him to eat at his own table with his sons and other persons of worth and quality. This was in the second year of Michelagnolo's engagement with Domenico, and when the youth was fifteen or sixteen years old; he remained in the house of Lorenzo the Magnificent four years, to the death of Lorenzo namely, which took place in 1492. During all this time Michelagnolo received from the Magnifico an allowance of five ducats per month, and was furthermore presented for his gratification with a violet-coloured mantle; his father, likewise, had an office in the Customs conferred on him. But indeed all the young men who studied in the garden received stipends of greater or less amount from the liberality of that magnificent and most noble citizen, being constantly encouraged and rewarded by him while he lived.

At this time and by the advice of Politiano, Michelagnolo executed a Battle of Hercules with the Centaurs in a piece of marble given to him by Lorenzo, and which proved to be so beautiful, that whosoever regards this work can scarcely believe it to have been that of a youth, but would rather suppose it the production of an experienced master. It is now in the house of his family,[21] and is preserved by Michelagnolo's nephew Lionardo, as a memorial of him, and as an admirable production, which it certainly is. Not many years since, this same Lionardo had a basso-rilievo of Our Lady, also by Michelagnolo, and which he kept as a me-

[20] Condivi says that Lodovico only consented with great unwillingness.

[21] This high-relief, probably executed 1490-92, or perhaps earlier, and now in the Casa Buonarroti, is said to have been suggested as a subject by Poliziano and to represent the Rape of Dejanira. The composition is overcrowded, the movement admirable but violent, the figures all offer the same character and proceed, says M. Eug. Guillaume (*L'Œuvre et la Vie*, p. 46), from the same ideal, which is already the sculptor's own. Michelangelo never parted with the work, but kept it in his house. It does not in any sense show the influence of Donatello. For a special study on this relief see Herr Strzygowski, *Jahrbuch der Königlichen Preussischen Künstsammlungen*, Vol. XII., *Heft* 4, 1891.

morial of his uncle; this is of marble and somewhat more than a braccia high; our artist was still but a youth when it was done,[22] and designing to copy the manner of Donatello therein, he has succeeded to such an extent that it might be taken for a work by that master, but exhibits more grace and higher powers of design than he possessed.[23] That basso-rilievo was afterwards given by Lionardo to Duke Cosimo, by whom it is highly valued, and the rather as there is no other basso-rilievo by his hand.[24]

But to return to the garden of Lorenzo the Magnificent.[25] Of this place, adorned with valuable antiques and excellent pictures, collected there for study and pleasure, Michelagnolo had the keys, and proved himself more careful as well as more prompt in all his actions than any of the other young men who frequented the place,[26] giving proof of

[22] The Casa Buonarroti still exists in the Via Ghibellina. This house, a large palace, was bought by Michelangelo, and for three hundred years was inhabited by members of the Buonarroti family. Michelangelo the Younger, grandnephew of the sculptor, caused the house to be decorated with frescoes in 1620. In 1858 Commendatore Cosimo Buonarroti gave it to the city, with all the documents, sketches, and other relics which it contained, adding thereto an endowment fund. The bronze bust on the door and the symbolical eagle on a column in the court-yard were placed there in 1875, on the occasion of the quadricentennial of the birth of Michelangelo (see Marcotti, *Guide-Souvenir de Florence*, p. 146). See also A. F. (Angiolo Fabrichesi), *Guida della Galleria Buonarroti* (Italian and French), Florence, 1868 and 1875.

[23] On the contrary, it is very inferior to the work of Donatello, and is probably an earlier work than the Centaurs; it is in the Casa Buonarroti.

[24] There are several high-reliefs by his hand, as, for instance, the two Madonnas (*in tondo*) and the Centaurs just mentioned.

[25] It would be hard to overestimate the importance of this sojourn in Casa Medici; here the boy who was to become the most prominent figure of the Full-renaissance of Tuscany, and who, as an old man, was to live even into the days of the Counter-renaissance, was in constant communion with the men of the fifteenth century. His commensals were Ficino and Pico della Mirandola, Poliziano, and Pulci—princes, platonists, and poets—and in the same palace he met the painters who developed Florentine art to the point which immediately preceded the great out-flowering of the first years of the sixteenth century. He thus felt the influence of the whole background, the whole past of Tuscan art, and at the same time lived among the devout worshippers of antiquity and within daily sight of some of its masterpieces.

[26] Among the youthful comrades of Michelangelo were the sculptors Baccio

boldness and animation in all that he did. . He laboured at the pictures of Masaccio in the Carmine also for many months, copying them with so much judgment that the artists were amazed thereat; but envy now increased with his fame; respecting this we find it related that Torrigiano, having formed an intimacy with Michelagnolo, and becoming envious of his distinction in art, one day, when jeering our artist, struck him so violent a blow in the face that his nose was broken and crushed in a manner from which it could never be recovered, so that he was marked for life; whereupon Torrigiano was banished Florence as we have before related.[27]

da Montelupo, Andrea dal Monte Sansovino, and the painters (besides Granacci) Niccolò Soggi, Lorenzo di Credi, and Giuliano Bugiardini.

[27] Torrigiano himself described this affair to Cellini: "This Buonarroti and I, when we were children, went together to the church of the Carmine to learn our art in the chapel of Masaccio. But Michelangelo had the habit of bantering and tormenting all who studied there with him, and one day among others, his words offended me so much that I became more than usually irritated, and, stretching forth my hand, I gave him so violent a blow on the nose with my closed fist that I felt the bones and cartilage crunch under my hand as if they had been thin biscuit (*cialdone*, a sort of wafer, or thin cake, curled into a form somewhat resembling that of a horn), and thus, bearing my mark, will Michelangelo remain all the days of his life." In the Life of Torrigiano, Vasari describes the event as happening in the garden of Lorenzo. The following is the passage: "Torrigiano . . . was by nature of an excessively choleric and haughty disposition, powerful and robust in person, he was so violent and overbearing that he was perpetually offending his fellow-students, to whom he not unfrequently offered outrage in deed, as well as word. . . . He had an especial hatred to Michelangelo, but for no other reason than because he saw him to be studiously devoted to his art, and knew that by night and on all holidays he secretly occupied himself with drawing in his own room, by which means he produced better works in the garden than any other student, and was accordingly much favored by Lorenzo.

"Moved by a bitter and cruel envy therefore, Torrigiano was constantly seeking to offend Michelangelo, both in word and deed, insomuch that they one day came to blows, when Torrigiano struck Michelangelo on the nose with his fist, using such terrible violence, and crushing that feature in such a manner that the proper form could never be restored to it, and Michelangelo had his nose flattened by that blow all his life. This circumstance having been made known to the magnificent Lorenzo, he was so greatly incensed against the offender, that if Torrigiano had not fled from Florence he would without doubt have inflicted some very heavy punishment on him."

On the death of Lorenzo,[28] Michelangelo returned to his father's house in great sorrow for his loss; here he bought a large piece of marble from which he made a Hercules, four braccia high, which was much admired, and after having remained for some years in the Strozzi Palace, was sent to France, in the year of the siege, by Giovan Battista della Palla.[29] It is said that Piero de' Medici, the heir of Lorenzo, who had been long intimate with Michelagnolo, often sent for him when about to purchase cameos or other antiques; and that, one winter, when much snow fell in Florence, he caused Michelagnolo to make in his court a Statue of Snow, which was exceedingly beautiful.[30] His father, seeing him thus honoured for his abilities, and beginning to perceive that he was esteemed by the great, now began to clothe him in a more stately manner than he had before done.

For the Church of Santo Spirito, in Florence, Michelagnolo made a Crucifix in wood, which is placed over the lunette of the High Altar.[31] This he did to please the Prior, who had given him a room wherein he dissected many dead bodies, and, zealously studying anatomy, began to give evidence of that perfection to which he afterwards brought his design.[32] Some weeks before the Medici were driven from

[28] Lorenzo died April 8, 1492; his death was the beginning of a long period of trouble and agitation in Florence, a period full of noble moments of exaltation, patriotism, and reform, but ending in disaster and enslavement.

[29] This statue, executed in 1492, was in the Jardin de l'Étang at Fontainebleau as late as 1642. The garden was destroyed in 1713, and nothing is known as to the fate of the Hercules. It is mentioned by le Père Dan in *Le Tresor des Merveilles de Fontainebleau*, 1642.

[30] Much has been said of this "insult" to Michelangelo; at worst it was a want of taste, but more properly it was the suggestion of a boy to a boy, and conveyed nothing beyond the expression of a moment's impulse. The pasteboard arches and stucco statues made by many a famous master for gala-days were hardly more lasting than the snow image, and had the additional disadvantage of a more or less enduring shabbiness. Piero de' Medici was, however, no such scholarly Mecænas as his father, or even his great-grandfather, since Piero, by his mother, inherited the blood of the swashbuckler Roman Orsini, very different from that of the canny, art-loving, trading Florentines.

[31] This work, executed in 1494, is lost.

[32] There is a curious drawing by Michelangelo, at Oxford, representing two

Florence, Michelagnolo had gone to Bologna,[33] and thence to Venice, having remarked the insolence and bad government of Piero, and fearing that some evil would happen to himself, as a servant of the Medici: but finding no means of existence in Venice, he returned to Bologna, where he had the misfortune to neglect the countersign, which it was needful to take at the gate, if one desired to go out again; Messer Giovanni Bentivogli having then commanded that all strangers, who had not this protection, should be fined fifty Bolognese lira.[34] This fine Michelagnolo had no means of paying, but he having, by chance, been seen by Messer Giovan Francesco Aldovrandi, one of the sixteen members of the government, the latter, making him tell his story, delivered him from that peril, and kept him in his own house for more than a year. One day, Aldovrandi took him to see the Tomb of San Domenico, which is said to have been executed by the old sculptors, Giovanni Pisano[35] and Maestro Niccolò dell' Arca: here, as it was found that two figures, of a braccio high, a San Petronio, and an Angel holding a candlestick namely, were wanting, Aldovrandi asked Michelagnolo if he had courage to undertake them, when he replied that he had; and having selected a piece of marble, he completed them in such sort that they are the best figures of the work, and he received thirty ducats

men dissecting a body, and there are several anatomical models in wax, by Michelangelo, in the South Kensington Museum, which are thought to be studies for the Bacchus, the David, and the *Pietà* at St. Peter's. See J. C. Robinson, A Descriptive Catalogue of Works in the South Kensington Museum, pp. 136, 137.

[33] This was in 1494, probably in September; Michelangelo's intensely sensitive and even suspicious nature seems to have been particularly subject to sudden panics, and this flight from Florence was caused by the stormy times which preceded the driving out of the Medici, and was directly precipitated by the dreams of a certain Cardiere, who, in a vision twice repeated, was warned by Lorenzo de' Medici to announce to Piero that his expulsion was imminent.

[34] Every foreigner who entered the gates had to receive a seal of red wax on his thumb; Michelangelo neglected this formality.

[35] Niccolà rather.

for the two.[36] He remained, as we have said, a year with Aldovrandi, and to have obliged him would have remained longer, the latter being pleased with his ability in design, and also with his Tuscan pronunciation in reading, listening with pleasure while Michelagnolo read the works of Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, and other Tuscan authors. But our artist, knowing that he was losing time at Bologna, returned to Florence,[37] where he executed a San Giovanni in marble for Lorenzo di Pier Francesco de' Medici;[38]

[36] Certain critics had doubted that Michelangelo modelled either of the angels; but a manuscript of Fra Lodovico da Prelormo, quoted by Marchese and cited by Milanesi, VII., p. 147, states that "nearly all of the figure of St. Petronius [the drapery], the whole figure of St. Proculus, and the entire figure of the kneeling angel, were made by a Florentine youth named Michelangelo." The St. Proculus was shattered by the fall of a ladder in 1542, and it was replaced in 1572 by a statuette by Prospero Spani, called Clementi da Reggio. See E. Müntz, *La Fin de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1895, p. 379, note 1. The short-haired angel to the right is the one now generally accredited to Buonarroti, but there has been much dispute and confusion as to which of the two *angioletti* was his work. Among authors referring to this monument are, V. Davia, Bologna, 1835 and 1842; V. Vannini, Bologna, 1840, and Padre Tommaso Bonora, Bologna, 1875. Springer, *Raffael und Michelangelo* (edition of 1895), I., pp. 13 and 14, reproduces the St. Petronius as well as the *angioletti*.

[37] Condivi shows us Michelangelo characteristically suspicious of the vengeance of a Bolognese sculptor (Girolamo Coltellini, says Milanesi). Such ill-feeling toward a stranger and a rival would be likely enough at this epoch, and might easily have proved dangerous to the Tuscan. It is not probable that Buonarroti stayed a year in Bologna, though Condivi says "*poco più d'un anno*," for the former was among those consulted regarding certain work in the Palazzo Vecchio of Florence, which was ordered July 15, 1495, of Lorenzo di Credi.

[38] The San Giovannino bought in 1880 by the Berlin Museum from the Conte Rosselmini Gualandi of Pisa is believed by Dr. Bode and others to be identical with this statue. Layard thinks it a later imitation. Critics differ as to this attribution. M. E. Guillaume, *L'Œuvre et la Vie*, p. 60, cannot believe that the Giovannino is by Michelangelo, and affirms that the "modelling is not strongly carried out, and has no resemblance with that employed by the great artist, even at the commencement of his career." Herr Wölfflin also cannot accept the attribution; but Springer, *Raffael und Michelangelo*, I., notes to pp. 316, 317, discusses the pros and cons, and thinks Bode's arguments weighty, and finds the only explanation of the conflicting qualities of the Giovannino in the "*Autodidaktischen Bildung Michelangelos*," and his following at one and the same time Donatello and the antique. For further reference see S. Salvini, in *La Nazione*, Florence, January 10, 1875, and Henke,

after which he commenced a Sleeping Cupid, also in marble and the size of life. This being finished was shown as a fine work, by means of Baldassare del Milanese to Pier-Francesco, who having declared it beautiful, Baldassare then said to Michelagnolo, "I am certain that, if you bury this Statue for a time, and then send it to Rome so treated, that it may look old, you may get much more for it than could be obtained here;" and this Michelagnolo is said to have done, as indeed he very easily could, that or more, but others declare that it was Milanese who, having taken this Cupid to Rome, there buried it, and afterwards sold it as an antique to the Cardinal San Giorgio for two hundred crowns. Others again affirm that the one sold to San Giorgio was made by Michelagnolo for Milanese who wrote to beg that Pier-Francesco would give Michelagnolo thirty crowns, declaring that sum to be all he had obtained for it, thus deceiving both him and Michelagnolo.[39]

Cardinal San Giorgio had, meanwhile, discovered that the Cupid had been made in Florence, and having ascertained the whole truth, he compelled Milanese to return the money and take back the Statue, which, having fallen into the hands of the Duke Valentino, was presented by him to the Marchioness of Mantua, who took it to that city, where it is still to be seen. San Giorgio, meanwhile, in-

*Der Giovannino des Michelangelo im Museum zu Berlin, Jahrbuch der K. P. S.*, July, 1891.

[39] Condivi says that Lorenzo di Pier Francesco was himself the one who suggested to Michelangelo that he should stain the statue as if it had been buried. The existence, whereabouts, and disappearance of the Cupid remain a mystery. Dr. Konrad Lange (*Zeitschrift für Bildende Künst*, XVIII., pp. 8, 9, 1883) believes it to be identical with a statue in the Turin Academy of Sciences (Museum of Antiquities). Sig. A. Venturi (*L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, Vol. I., pp. 1-13) combats him, and thinks the statue a later Renaissance work. Symonds and other critics suggest a statue in the Liceo of Mantua, but nothing is proven. Besides the articles of Dr. Lange and Sig. Venturi, mentioned above, see also *Michelangelo's Schlafender Cupido*, article by J. P. Richter in *Zeitschrift für Bildende Künst*, XII., pp. 120-134, 170-174. A. Fabretti, *Il cupido di Michelangelo nel Museo d'antichità di Torino*, Turin, 1883; The lost "Cupid" of Michelangelo, article by J. Cartwright, in the Magazine of Art, London, 1885.

curred no small ridicule and even censure in the matter, he not having been able to appreciate the merit of the work; for this consisted in its absolute perfection, wherein, if a modern work be equal to the ancient, wherefore not value it as highly? for is it not a mere vanity to think more of the name than the fact? But men who regard the appearance more than the reality, are to be found in all times. The reputation of Michelagnolo increased greatly from this circumstance, and he was invited to Rome,[40] where he was engaged by the Cardinal San Giorgio, with whom he remained nearly a year, but that Prelate, not understanding matters of art, did nothing for him.

At that time a Barber of the Cardinal, who had been a painter, and worked tolerably in fresco, but had no power of design, formed an acquaintance with Michelagnolo, who made him a Cartoon of St. Francis receiving the Stigmata, and this was painted by the Barber very carefully; it is now in the first Chapel of the Church of San Pietro, in Montorio.[41] The ability of Michelagnolo was, however, clearly perceived by Messer Jacopo Galli, a Roman gentleman of much judgment, who commissioned him to make a Cupid,[42] the size of life, with a Bacchus of ten palms high; the latter holds a Tazza in the right hand, and in the left he has the skin of a Tiger, with a bunch of grapes which a little Satyr is trying to nibble away from

[40] Condivi gives a more detailed account of Michelangelo's call to Rome. He says that the Cardinal sent one of his gentlemen to Florence to inquire into the story that the antique Cupid was a modern forgery. This emissary of the Cardinal asked Michelangelo to give him a specimen of his skill; the latter drew a hand with a pen, and when asked to mention what he had done in marble he named the Cupid. The gentleman then invited him to Rome on behalf of the Cardinal. Michelangelo reached Rome June 25, 1496.

[41] This cartoon, executed in 1496, is lost. In his first edition Vasari says Michelangelo *painted* the picture; in the second edition he corrects his error.

[42] This is believed to be a Cupid (?) in the South Kensington Museum. See J. C. Robinson, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Works in the South Kensington Museum, p. 134, where certificates by Dupré and Santarelli affirming their belief in its authenticity are given. It came from the Gigli-Campana Collection. The arm, which is upraised, is a modern restoration. Ulisse Aldovrandi speaks of a naked Apollo as in the possession of Galli; it is Condivi

him.[43] In this figure the artist has evidently brought to mingle beauties of a varied kind, labouring to exhibit the bold bearing of the youth united to the fulness and roundness of the female form ; and herein did he prove himself to be capable of surpassing the statues of all other modern masters.

During his abode in Rome, Michelagnolo made so much progress in art, that the elevation of thought he displayed, with the facility with which he executed works,[44] in the most difficult manner, was considered extraordinary, by persons practised in the examination of the same, as well as by those unaccustomed to such marvels, all other works appearing as nothing in the comparison with those of Michelagnolo. These things caused the Cardinal Saint Denis, a

who mentions a Cupid, but whether the statue be a wingless Cupid or an Apollo (in which case it would not in all particulars tally with Aldovrandi's description), it is generally considered to be a genuine work of the youth of Michelangelo. For a *résumé* of opinions see Springer, *op. cit.*, I., notes to p. 318. A letter from Michelangelo, intended for Lorenzo's reading, but sent to Botticelli, mentions marble bought for a life-size statue which he (Michelangelo) is to execute.

[43] A Bacchus, executed 1496–1500, is in the Bargello. M. Guillaume, *op. cit.*, gives this statue very high praise, placing it among "*les Œuvres Capitales de la Renaissance*," noting its direct inspiration from antiquity, an inspiration which is further emphasized by Springer, who (*Jahrbuch der K. P. S.*, 1884, pp. 329–332) reproduces in juxtaposition the Bacchus and an antique Bacchus in the Uffizi. M. Müntz has remarked (*La Fin de la Renaissance*, p. 380) that this period was the one during which Michelangelo showed in his work the most of serenity and almost of impassibility, and that it was while "Savonarola thundered from the pulpit his terrible warnings" that the young Buonarroti created the Bacchus, the Adonis, the Cupid, the San Giovannino. It was later, when misfortunes began to thicken about Florence, that Buonarroti *felt* the significance of what he had only *heard* before, and that the Medicean became a patriot.

[44] There is an unfinished painting of an Entombment of Christ in the National Gallery of London, which M. Müntz, Dr. Frizzoni, and Dr. Richter accept as by Michelangelo. M. Reiset, Herr Wölfflin, J. C. Robinson, and Symonds pronounce against it. For the Entombment see The Times, 1881, September 1, 6, 9, and 13; The Academy, September 10, 1881; *L' Archivio Storico Italiano*, 1879, G. Frizzoni, *L'Arte Italiana del Rinascimento*, p. 263–265; G. Frizzoni, *L'Arte Italiana nella Galleria Nazionale di Londra*, p. 18; Dr. J. P. Richter, Italian Art in the National Gallery, p. 44. The National Gallery also has a Virgin painted *in tondo* (unfinished),

Frenchman, called Rovano,[45] to form the desire of leaving in that renowned city some memorial of himself by the hand of so famous an artist. He therefore commissioned Michelagnolo to execute a Pietà of marble in full relief;[46] and this when finished, was placed in San Pietro, in the Chapel of Santa Maria della Febbre namely, at the Temple of Mars.[47] To this work I think no sculptor, however distinguished an artist, could add a single grace, or improve it by whatever pains he might take, whether in elegance and delicacy, or force, and the careful perforation of the marble, nor could any surpass the art which Michelagnolo has here exhibited.

called the Virgin of Manchester; like the Entombment it is a disputed picture. Dr. Frizzoni refuses to believe in its authenticity, but it is accepted by a great number of critics. Symonds says it resembles a "flat relief" in stone rather than a painting. Charles Blanc writes of the Virgin of Manchester in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, IX., 1st period, p. 65, 1861.

[45] Vasari here confuses two Cardinals, Charles d'Amboise, Cardinal of Rouen (*Rovano*), and Jean de la Groslaye de Villiers, Abbot of St. Denis, called Cardinale di San Dionigi by the Italians, and Ambassador to Alexander VI. It was the Abbot of St. Denis who ordered the *Pietà* of Michelangelo. The contract for the statue was signed August 26, 1498, and the work was executed 1499–1500. The statue was first placed in the old basilica of St. Peter's in the chapel of S. Petronilla (Condivi has it *Chiesa di Santa Petronilla . . . vicina alla sagrestia di San Pietro*), called "of the King of France," then in that of the Madonna della Febbre (of the fever). In 1550 it was removed to the chapel of Pope Sixtus, and finally to the *Cappella della Pietà*.

[46] This is that magnificent Madonna who consecrates three centuries of effort of upward striving in art, who looks backward and resumes the spirit of devotion of the past, yet sits at the doorway of the new order of things, of the epoch of scientific achievement. The breadth of conception of the culminating period of art, the delicate finish of the period that was passing away, are both here in the small head and giant torso of the heroic Madonna, in the relaxed and wonderfully expressive body of the Christ. The Renaissance had attained its growth and borne this fruit at the hands of a youth twenty-four years old. But a decade later a lad of twenty-six was to paint the *Disputà* and the School of Athens; what wonder if the men of the time believed that anything was possible in the future of such artists? This *Pietà*, says Symonds, must for the first time have opened the eyes of men to the fact that Michelangelo transcended his contemporaries in power of conception and execution, and was capable of a spiritual expression which the Greeks had never attempted.

[47] Rather where the temple of Mars had been.

Among other fine things may be remembered — to say nothing of the admirable draperies—that the body of the Dead Christ exhibits the very perfection of research in every muscle, vein, and nerve, nor could any corpse more completely resemble the dead than does this. There is besides a most exquisite expression in the countenance, and the limbs are affixed to the trunk in a manner that is truly perfect; the veins and pulses, moreover, are indicated with so much exactitude, that one cannot but marvel how the hand of the artist should in a short time have produced such a work, or how a stone which just before was without form or shape, should all at once display such perfection as Nature can but rarely produce in the flesh. The love and care which Michelagnolo had given to this group were such that he there left his name—a thing he never did again for any work—on the cincture which girdles the robe of Our Lady; for it happened one day that Michelagnolo, entering the place where it was erected, found a large assemblage of strangers from Lombardy there, who were praising it highly; one of these asking who had done it, was told "Our Hunchback of Milan;" hearing which, Michelagnolo remained silent, although surprised that his work should be attributed to another. But one night he repaired to Saint Peter's with a light and his chisels, to engrave his name as we have said on the figure, which seems to breathe a spirit as perfect as her form and countenance,[48] speaking as one might think in the following words:—

Beauty and goodness, piety and grief,
Dead in the living marble. Weep not thus;
Be comforted, time shall awake the dead.
Cease then to weep with these unmeasured tears,
Our Lord, and thine, thy father, son, and spouse,
His daughter, thou his mother and sole bride.

[48] There is something of Michelangelo's *terribilità* without any of his exaggeration in this wonderful group; the face of the Madonna is far more human than are those of the women of the Medici sacristy, there is still something of the sweetness and holiness of the fifteenth century, yet at the same

From this work then Michelagnolo acquired great fame;[49] certain dullards do indeed affirm that he has made Our Lady too young, but that is because they fail to perceive the fact that unspotted maidens long preserve the youthfulness of their aspect, while persons afflicted as Christ was do the contrary; the youth of the Madonna, therefore, does but add to the credit of the master.

Michelagnolo[50] now received letters from friends in Florence advising him to return, since he might thus obtain that piece of marble which Pier Soderini, then Gonfaloniere of the city, had talked of giving to Leonardo da Vinci, but was now preparing to present to Andrea dal Monte Sansavino, an excellent sculptor who was making many efforts to obtain it.[51] It was difficult to get a statue out of it without the addition of several pieces, and no one, Michelagnolo

time, says M. Eugène Guillaume the sculptor (*L'Œuvre et la Vie*, p. 63), it is of a holiness so deep and universal that we may find its "equivalent even upon the Buddhist images." M. Guillaume evokes the German souvenir to be found in the draperies of breast and head, memories perhaps of Martin Schöngauer. It may be that some of the fascination which enhances the power of the group may come from this alliance of north and south, of fervor and of science. Michelangelo had indeed redeemed the pledge of his loyal friend Jacopo Galli, made to the Cardinal, that "no master of our days" should be able to produce a better statue. Perkins, Tuscan Sculptors, II., p. 12, notes the fact that this *Pietà*, executed in Michelangelo's twenty-fourth year, headed a long list of Christian subjects, as with one unimportant exception, no Pagan subject in marble postdates it. The *Pietà* is signed MICHAEL-ANGELUS BONAROTUS FLOREN FACIEBAT.

[49] The *Pietà* begins the list of Michelangelo's masterpieces. This Virgin belongs to that grand congregation which counts the David and the Moses, the Captive Youths, the seven marvellous statues in the sacristy of San Lorenzo, the men and women of the Sistine frescoes, prophets and sibyls, saints and kings, and grand abstractions whose names even, remain the secret of the master who created them.

[50] In June, 1501, Michelangelo contracted to furnish fifteen statues of the Christ, saints, and angels for the Piccolomini altar of Siena, and to finish a statue of S. Francis commenced by Torrigiano. It appears that by 1504 Buonarroti had delivered four statues, and that he never continued the work. He really seems to have finished the S. Francis, but while some writers assign to him the statues of Saints Peter, Paul, Pius, and Gregory, other critics refuse the attribution. See Anatole de Montaiglon, *L'Œuvre et la Vie*, p. 239.

[51] Condivi states that domestic affairs called Michelangelo to Florence, but Vasari apparently did not think that this simple statement was sufficiently in-

excepted, had the courage to attempt it; but he, who had long wished for the block, no sooner arrived in Florence than he made every effort to secure the same. This piece of marble was nine braccia high, and unluckily, a certain Maestro Simone da Fiesole[52] had commenced a colossal figure thereon; but the work had been so grievously injured that the Superintendents had suffered it to remain in the House of Works at Santa Maria del Fiore for many years, without thinking of having it finished, and there it seemed likely to continue.

Michelagnolo measured the mass anew to ascertain what sort of figure he could draw from it, and accommodating himself to the attitude demanded by the injuries which Maestro Simone had inflicted on it, he begged it from the Superintendents and Soderini, by whom it was given to him as a useless thing, they thinking that whatever he might make of it must needs be preferable to the state in which it then lay, and wherein it was totally useless to the fabric. Michelagnolo then made a model in wax,[53] representing a young David, with the sling in his hand, as the ensigns of the Palace, and to intimate that, as he had defended his people and governed justly, so they who were then ruling that city should defend it with courage and govern it uprightly. He commenced his labours in the House of Work, at Santa Maria del Fiore, where he formed an enclosure of planks and masonry, which surrounded the marble; there he worked perpetually, permitting no one to see him until the figure was brought to perfection. The marble having been much injured by Simone, did not entirely suffice to the wishes of Michelagnolo, who therefore permitted some of

teresting, and so he claimed that the sculptor went on account of the David. Michelangelo returned to Florence in 1501.

[52] It has been supposed that the man who hacked the stone was Agostino di Antonio di Duccio, but Milanesi states that documents existing in the Opera del Duomo prove that not Simone nor Agostino, but Bartolommeo di Pietro, called Baccellino, was the man who had spoiled the marble.

[53] There are two wax models now in the Casa Buonarroti at Florence, neither of which corresponds with the David as completed. There are models in wax of an arm, of a leg, and a figure of David in the South Kensing-

the traces of Simone's chisel to remain; these may be still perceived,[54] and certainly it was all but a miracle that Michelagnolo performed, when he thus resuscitated one who was dead.

When the Statue was completed, there arose much discussion as to how it should be transported to the Piazza de Signori,[55] but Giuliano da Sangallo, and Antonio his brother, made a strong frame-work of wood, and, suspending the figure to this by means of ropes, to the end that it might be easily moved, they thus got it gradually forward with beams and windlasses, and finally placed it on the site destined to receive the same. The knot of the rope which held the Statue was made in such sort that it ran easily, but became tighter as the weight increased, a beautiful and in-

ton Museum; these may be considered as preliminary designs or else as designs for the David sent to France. The completed work somewhat suggests one of the antique colossal statues of the Monte Cavallo at Rome. For comparison of the figures see Cicognara, *Storia della Scultura*, V., p. 151, and note. J. C. Robinson (A Descriptive Catalogue of Works in the South Kensington Museum, p. 139) thinks the wax model in London would have strengthened Cicognara's argument had the latter known of its existence.

[54] The statue (1501–4) was finished without the addition of pieces of marble, and so exact was the calculation of the sculptor that traces of the rough surface of the marble may be found at the base and head of the statue.

[55] Michelangelo began to work on the David September 13, 1501, and finished it January 25, 1504. The minutes of the meeting of the eighteen artists who were assembled to decide on the site for the statue have been preserved and give an interesting insight into the method with which all proceedings of an artistic or public nature were conducted. Among those present were Francesco Filarete, Cosimo Rosselli, Andrea della Robbia, Lorenzo di Credi, Sandro Botticelli, Giuliano da San Gallo, Perugino, Leonardo da Vinci, Filippino Lippi, Il Cronaca, Antonio da San Gallo, David Ghirlandajo, and others. Various positions were suggested, as at the side of the Duomo on the Piazza of the Baptistery, the centre of the Grand Council Hall, the court-yard of the Palazzo Vecchio, the place beside the door of the latter occupied at the time by the Judith, finally a place under the Loggia de' Lanzi. Lippi and the goldsmith Salvestro di Lavacchio having suggested that Michelangelo himself would probably have reflected carefully as to where he should like to have the David placed, Piero di Cosimo proposed that he should be given his choice. He chose the place occupied by the Judith, which was removed to the Loggia, and the David was taken to the Palazzo Vecchio. See Gaye's *Carteggio*, II., pp. 455, 464–466. The pedestal to the statue was designed by Simone del Pollajuolo and Antonio da San Gallo.

genious arrangement, which I now have in my book of designs: a secure and admirable contrivance it is for suspending great weights.[56]

When the Statue was set up, it chanced that Soderini, whom it greatly pleased, came to look at it while Michelagnolo was retouching it at certain points, and told the artist that he thought the nose too short. Michelagnolo perceived that Soderini was in such a position beneath the figure, that he could not see it conveniently, yet to satisfy him, he mounted the scaffold with his chisel and a little powder gathered from the floor in his hand, when striking lightly with the chisel, but without altering the nose, he suffered a little of the powder to fall, and then said to the Gonfaloniere who stood below, "Look at it now." "I like it better now," replied Piero; "you have given it life." Michelagnolo then descended, not without compassion for those who desire to appear good judges of matters whereof they know nothing. The work fully completed, Michelagnolo gave it to view, and truly may we affirm that this Statue surpasses all others whether ancient or modern, Greek or Latin; neither the Marforio at Rome, the Tiber and the Nile in the Belvedere, nor the Giants of Monte Cavallo, can be compared with it, to such perfection of beauty and excellence did our artist bring his work.[57] The outline of the

[56] Although the distance was only a quarter of a mile, four days were consumed in moving it. The mechanism was possibly designed by Simone del Pollajuolo, better known as Il Cronaca. Associated with him were Michelangelo, Antonio da San Gallo, Baccio d' Agnolo, and Bernardo della Ciecha. Forty men were employed in moving the statue. Stones were thrown at the David, so that it had to be guarded at night. In 1873 the David was removed to the Accademia delle Belle Arti, where it occupies the centre of a room which is used as a museum of casts from Michelangelo's works.

[57] Symonds (*op. cit.*, I., 98) sees the *terribilità* of Michelangelo displayed for the first time in the David, but surely it may be seen in his gentler works, even in the grand shoulders and tremendous thorax of his Madonna della Febbre. Burckhardt, in the Cicerone, has noted that in the David Michelangelo commenced by a fault, namely: by forgetting that only the adult and developed figure fully lends itself to colossal treatment. M. Eugène Guillaume says of it (*L'Œuvre et la Vie*, pp. 63, 64) that it denotes a talent which has reached its full development, but is not yet wholly free; he calls it the sculp-

lower limbs is most beautiful. The connexion of each limb with the trunk is faultless, and the spirit of the whole form is divine: never since has there been produced so fine an attitude, so perfect a grace, such beauty of head, feet, and hands; every part is replete with excellence; nor is so much harmony and admirable art to be found in any other work. He that has seen this, therefore, need not care to see any production besides, whether of our own times or those preceding it. For this Statue, Michelagnolo received from Soderini the sum of four hundred crowns; it was placed on its pedestal in the year 1504,[58] and the glory resulting to the artist therefrom became such as to induce the Gonfaloniere to order a David in bronze, which when Michelagnolo had completed, was sent to France.[59]

tor's "*chef-d'œuvre de maîtrise*," but emphasizes the influence of Donatello's Saint George in the head of the David.

[58] The following passage from Vasari's life of Francesco Salviati is of interest. "In the year 1527, when the Medici were expelled from the city of Florence and there was much fighting in defence of the Palace of the Signoria, a large bench or form being cast down from on high, with intent that it should fall on those who were attacking the door, it chanced, as Fortune would have it, that the missile fell upon the arm of the David, in marble, by Buonarroti, which is on the platform, and the arm was thereby broken into three pieces. These fragments having been thus suffered to remain lying on the earth for three days without having been lifted up by any man, Francesco repaired to the Ponte Vecchio to seek Vasari, and having imparted his purpose to him, the two boys, children as they were, advanced into the Piazza, without thinking of the dangers to which they thus exposed themselves, and from the midst of the soldiers on guard they gathered up the three pieces of that arm, and carried them into the house of Michelagnolo, the father of Francesco, in the lane beside the dwelling of Messer Bivigliano. From this place it was that the Duke Cosimo, in course of time, regained those fragments which he then had fastened to the statue by means of copper nails."

[59] The commission for this work was given in 1502; it was originally intended for Pierre de Rohan (Maréchal de Gié), but when he fell into disgrace the statue was "packed in the name of God" and sent to Florimond Robertêt, treasurer of Louis XII., and a man who might easily be useful to Florence. It was set up at Robertêt's Château de Bury. In 1650 it was removed to the Château de Villeroy, after which it cannot be traced. See F. Reiset, *Un Bronze de Michel-Ange*, Paris, 1853. In the South Kensington Museum, London, there is a wax sketch, which was probably a study for this work; there is also a pen-and-ink drawing in the Louvre which perhaps also refers to the bronze David. See F. Reiset, *Notice des Dessins du Louvre*, Paris, 1866,

About the same time our artist commenced, but did not finish, two Medallions in marble, one for Taddeo Taddei, which is now in his house;[60] the other for Bartolommeo Pitti, which was presented to Luigi Guicciardini[61] by Fra Miniato Pitti of Monte Oliveto his great friend, and whose acquaintance with Painting as well as with Cosmography and other sciences, is very extensive. These works also obtained high approbation, as did likewise a marble Statue of St. Matthew, which Michelagnolo then sketched for the Superintendents of Works to Santa Maria del Fiore, and which, merely sketched as it is, gives clear evidence of the perfection to which the finished performance would have attained, and serves well to teach the Sculptor how figures are to be drawn from the marble in such sort that they shall not prove abortions, and also in a manner which leaves to the judgment all fitting opportunity for such alterations and ameliorations as may subsequently be demanded.[62]

p. 41; and the same writer in *L'Athenæum français* for 1853. See also *L'Œuvre et la Vie* for fuller details and references to literature.

[60] Now in the possession of the Royal Academy, Burlington House, London. The subject is a Virgin and Child.

[61] Now in the Bargello; it is also a Virgin and Child. Symonds (*op. cit.*, I., p. 112) calls these two rough-hewn Madonnas *in tondo* "a pair of uncut gems."

[62] The contract for the statues of the Twelve Apostles was made on April 24, 1503. A house with workshops was built for Michelangelo in the Borgo Pinti, by Cronaca. Each year one apostle was to be finished, and the sculptor, in addition to his expenses and a certain allowance, was to receive a twelfth part of the property (the house and studio), so that when the last statue was completed he would have been in full possession of it. The impressive rough-hewn sketch of the St. Matthew, now in the Academy at Florence, is all that was ever executed in accordance with this contract. Heath Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 58, says: "It suggests a petrified primeval man, who has died in agony in some convulsion of nature." C. C. Perkins, in his Raphael and Michelangelo, in speaking of the fact that Michelangelo recognized no limitations of time, strength, or material, and thus accepted tasks too numerous and heavy for any one man, says: "He commenced with his St. Matthew at the Academy the long series of unfinished works which stand like milestones along his path from the year 1500 to his death." Mrs. Foster in her notes to Vasari cites the famous saying of Vigenero as follows:

"Let our readers consult the notes appended by Vigenero (who was intimately acquainted with Michael Angelo) to his Translation, *Les Images*, . . .

About this time Michelagnolo cast a Madonna in bronze for certain Flemish merchants called Moscheroni, persons of much account in their own land, and who paid him a hundred crowns for his work, which they sent into Flanders.[63] The Florentine citizen, Agnolo Doni, likewise desired to have some production from the hand of Michelagnolo, who was his friend, and he being, as we have before said, a great lover of fine works in art, whether ancient or

*de deux Sophistes Grecs*, Paris, 1614. Here, among other interesting and valuable observations, he will find the following: 'Of this matter (sketching) I may add that I have seen Michael Angelo, although then sixty years old, and not in robust health, strike more chips from the hardest marble in a quarter of an hour, than would be carried off by three young stone-cutters in three or four times as long; a thing incredible to him who has not seen it. He would approach the marble with such impetuosity, not to say fury, that I often thought the whole work must be dashed to pieces; at one blow he would strike off morsels of three and four inches, yet with such exactitude was each stroke given, that a mere atom more would sometimes have spoiled the whole work.'"

[63] Vasari here evidently copied a mistake of Condivi, who says *Gittò ancho di bronzo*, etc. The Madonna is not a bronze relief but is a statue in the round. It is in the chapel of the Host in the church of Notre Dame at Bruges, Belgium. The arms of the Mouscron are carved on the pedestal of the statue, and are given in *L'Œuvre et la Vie*, p. 253. A letter written from Rome to Michelangelo by Giov. Balducci, August 4, 1506, tells him that the group had been sent to Flanders in the care of Francesco del Pugliese or of Giuliano d'Adamo. The date of the execution of the work is uncertain. Perkins, Tuscan Sculptors, II., p. 14, considers that it must have been executed before the *Pietà*, but it is generally accepted as postdating the latter. The Madonna of Bruges is one of the most *attractive* of Michelangelo's works. M. Eugène Guillaume, *op. cit.*, pp. 63, 64, says in likening it (though the qualities exist in lesser degree) to the *Pietà*, that here we find the same "shades of mystical expression, the same compact composition, the same peculiarities in the treatment of the costume." M. de Montaiglon, *L'Œuvre et la Vie*, p. 254, suggests that since this Virgin of Bruges was sent to Flanders by way of Viareggio it was very possibly sculptured during Michelangelo's sojourn at Carrara.

Dürer saw this Madonna when he visited Bruges in April, 1521. See F. Verachter, *Albrecht Dürer in de Nederlanden*, Antwerp, 1840, and W. M. Conway's Literary Remains of Albrecht Dürer, Cambridge, 1889, p. 117. Dürer says: "Then I saw in Our Lady's church the alabaster Madonna, sculptured by Michelangelo of Rome." Horace Walpole is said to have offered 30,000 florins for this statue. M. de Montaiglon, in *L'Œuvre et la Vie*, p. 335, cites among works referring to this group: H. de Triqueti, Fine Arts, Quarterly Review. F. Reiset, *Le Groupe en Marbre de l'église, N. D. de*

modern; wherefore Michelagnolo began a circular painting of Our Lady for him; she is kneeling, and presents the Divine Child, which she holds in her arms, to Joseph, who receives him to his bosom. Here the artist has finely expressed the perfection of delight with which the mother regards the beauty of her Son, and which is clearly manifest in the turn of her head and fixedness of her gaze: equally obvious is her wish that this contentment shall be shared by that pious old man who receives the babe with infinite tenderness and reverence. Nor did this suffice to Michelagnolo, since the better to display his art, he has assembled numerous undraped figures in the back-ground of his picture, some upright, some half recumbent, and others seated. The whole work is, besides, executed with so much care and finish, that of all his pictures, which indeed are but few, this is considered the best.[64]

When the picture was completed, Michelagnolo sent it, still uncovered, to Agnolo Doni's house, with a note demanding for it a payment of sixty ducats. But Agnolo,

*Bruges* (being a letter to M. Barbet de Jouy), Paris, 1875. *Chronique de la Gazette*, letter of M. Louis Viardot, September 25, 1875, and articles of M. Louis Gonse, September 11, October 9, October 23, and November 6, 1875. J. Hoepfer, *La Madone de Bruges*, *L'Art Universel*, Brussels, October 1, 1875. A. Siret, *La Madone de Bruges*, *Journal des Beaux-Arts*, seventeenth year, No. 9.

[64] This work, executed about 1503, is now in the Uffizi. MM. Lafenestre and Richtenberger, in their late work, *La Peinture en Europe*, *Florence*, p. 49, state that it is painted in *tempera*; but Heath Wilson (*op. cit.*, p. 60), who had exceptional facilities for studying the picture in a good light, says there can be no doubt of its being an oil painting, and Symonds accepts this statement. The influence of Luca Signorelli is seen in the nude figures of the background; critics generally consider that this is the only finished easel picture which can be attributed to Michelangelo with certainty. The picture is rather a colored cartoon than a painting, hard and dry and disagreeable, yet full of the power of Michelangelo, magnificently drawn (though the face of the Madonna is most unhandsome in the foreshortening of chin, upper lip, and nose), having decorative beauty in the composition of its lines, and impressing, by its force, its originality, and its difference from other artists' conceptions of the same subject. Here, too, the Christ, like the baby of the Bruges Madonna, and of the two *madonne in tondo*, is a real child (Raphael has borrowed the movement) and not a little athlete like Michelangelo's later figures of would-be *putti*.

who was a frugal person, declared that a large sum to give for a picture, although he knew it was worth more, and told the messenger that forty ducats which he gave him was enough. Hearing this, Michelagnolo sent back his man to say that Agnolo must now send a hundred ducats or give the picture back; whereupon Doni, who was pleased with the work, at once offered the sixty first demanded. But Michelagnolo, offended by the want of confidence exhibited by Doni, now declared that if he desired to have the picture, he must pay a hundred and forty ducats for the same, thus compelling him to give more than double the sum first required.[65]

When the renowned painter, Leonardo da Vinci, was painting in the Great Hall of the Council, as we have related in his Life, Piero Soderini, who was then Gonfaloniere, moved by the extraordinary ability which he perceived in Michelagnolo, caused him to be entrusted with one portion of that Hall, when our artist finished a façade (whereon he represented the War of Pisa),[66] in competition with Leonardo. For this work Michelagnolo secured a room in the Hospital of the Dyers at Sant' Onofrio; and here he commenced a very large Cartoon, but would never permit

[65] H. Grimm (Life of Michael Angelo, I., p. 227, American edition) calls attention to the fact that Condivi says that Doni eventually paid *seventy* ducats for it.

[66] Though called the Battle of Pisa, the conflict really took place at Cascina on the Arno, about six miles from that city, on July 28, 1364, when Hawkwood surprised the army of the Florentines (see Sir John Hawkwood, by John Temple Leader and Giuseppe Marcotti, London, 1889). The cartoon was left unfinished when Michelangelo went to Rome. It was begun in 1504, the work ceased in 1505. Milanesi, Gotti, and other critics following Gaye's *Carteggio*, II., p. 93, which records a payment to Michelangelo on February 28, 1505, and another to a ropemaker, August 30, 1505, for setting up the cartoon, decide that it was finished as early as the latter date. Symonds is convinced that the artist was in Carrara in August of 1505, and that though the cartoon may have been framed and set up at this latter date, Michelangelo worked on it again in 1506. M. Müntz admits the possibility of such work in 1506 (*La Fin de la Renaissance*, p. 472, note 2); Vasari distinctly chronicles it as having taken place. See also, for the cartoon, Dr. J. P. Richter, in the *Kunstchronik*, XIII., p. 477, and Thausing. *Michelangelo's Entwurf zu dem Karton* in the *Zeitschrift für bildende Künst*, XIII., 1878.

any one to see it in progress. The work exhibited a vast number of nude figures bathing in the River Arno, as men do in hot days, and at this moment the enemy is heard to be attacking the Camp. The soldiers who were bathing, spring forth in haste to seize their arms, which many are portrayed by the divine hand of Michelagnolo as hurriedly doing. Some are affixing their cuirasses or other portions of their armour, while others are already mounted and commencing the battle on horseback.

Among the figures in this work was that of an old man who, to shelter himself from the heat, has wreathed a garland of ivy round his head, and, seated on the earth, is labouring to draw on his stockings, but is impeded by the humidity of his limbs. Hearing the sound of the drums and the cries of the soldiers, he is struggling violently to get one of the stockings on, the action of the muscles and distortion of the mouth evince the zeal of his efforts, and prove him to be toiling all over, even to the points of his feet. There were drummers, and other figures also, hastening to the Camp with their clothes in their arms, all displaying the most singular attitudes; some were standing, others kneeling or stooping forward, or half-suspended between all these positions; some were falling down, others springing high in the air and exhibiting the most difficult foreshortenings. There were innumerable groups besides, all sketched in different manners, some of the figures being merely outlined in charcoal, others shaded off, some with the features clearly defined, and lights thrown in, Michelagnolo desiring to show the extent of his knowledge in that vocation; and of a truth the artists were struck with amazement, perceiving, as they did, that the master had in that Cartoon laid open to them the very highest resources of art: nay, there are some who still declare that they have never seen anything equal to that work, either from his own hand or that of any other, and they do not believe that the genius of any other man will ever more attain to such perfection. Nor does this appear to be exaggerated, since

all who have designed from and copied that Cartoon (as it was the habit for both natives and strangers to do), have finally become excellent in Art.

As proof of this, may be cited Aristotele da Sangallo, the friend of Michelagnolo, Ridolfo Ghirlandajo; Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino; Francesco Granaccio; Baccio Bandinelli; and the Spaniard, Alonzo Berughetta. These were followed by Andrea del Sarto; Franciabigio; Jacopo Sansovino; Il Rosso; Maturino; Lorenzetto; and Tribolo, who was at that time but a child; with Jacopo da Pontormo, and Perino del Vaga, all of whom were excellent masters.

The Cartoon having thus become a study for artists, was removed to the great Hall of the Medici Palace, but this caused it to be left with too little caution in the hands of the artists; insomuch that, at the time of Giuliano's sickness, and when no one was thinking of such things, it was torn to pieces,[67] as we have before related, and scattered

[67] The Cartoon was commenced in the Sala de' Tintori (hospital), at Sant' Onofrio, then was left by Michelangelo in the *Sala del Papa*, at Santa Maria Novella, whence it appears to have been taken to the *Sala del Gran Consiglio*. Vasari, in his first edition, said simply that during Duke Giuliano's illness the Cartoon came into the hands of the artists, who flocked to make studies of it, and that they tore it in pieces and dispersed the fragments. This is probably the real truth of the matter. It is possible enough that the Cartoon had already become more or less damaged in this time of tumult, confusion, and change, and that artists eager to possess pieces of the drawing thought, or pretended to think, that the fragments would be safer in their hands than if left to the mercies of Florence at large. At all events the Cartoon was divided into different pieces, and we hear of the fragments in various cities. Vasari, in his second edition, added to his first lines this intercalation, "as we have told elsewhere" (*come s'è detto altrove*). The intercalation refers to the Life of Bandinelli, in which this passage occurs.

"Baccio frequented the hall more constantly than any of the other artists, and had even made a counterfeit of the key thereof; it thus happened that in the year 1512, when Piero Soderini was deposed from the government, and the house of Medici restored to its position, Baccio entered the hall secretly and alone, during the tumults consequent on the changes then ensuing, when he cut the Cartoon into numerous pieces. The cause of this action not being known, some said that Baccio had torn up the Cartoon for the purpose of taking certain portions to himself, and so using them at his convenience; others thought he had done it with a view to deprive other young artists of

over different places, among others in Mantua,[68] where certain fragments are still to be seen in the house of M. Uberto Strozzi, a Mantuan gentleman,[69] by whom they are

the advantages to be derived from the study thereof; some declared that he was led thereto by his affection for Leonardo da Vinci, whose reputation had been sensibly diminished by this Cartoon of Michelagnolo's; but others, perhaps interpreting the matter more truly, attributed the deed to Baccio's hatred of Michelagnolo, a feeling of which he gave full evidence through all his after-life. The loss of the Cartoon was not a small one to the city, and the blame cast on Baccio was very heavy, since he was justly declared by every one to have proved himself most envious and malignant."

This story is made unlikely by the dates, by Vasari's contradictions of himself, by his detestation of Bandinelli, and by the fact that Cellini, who cordially hated Baccio, says nothing of his having destroyed the cartoon. Condivi simply says: "I do not know by what evil fortune it afterward came to ruin" (*ne so, per qual mal fortuna capitasse poi male*).

[68] A letter, cited by Milanesi, written by Sangaletti, Tuscan Ambassador to Rome in 1575, hints at a wish of the Mantuan Strozzi to sell these fragments to the Grand Duke of Tuscany. Their desire seems to have come to nothing. It is certain, however, that the Duke of Savoy purchased some fragments of the Cartoon from someone. These pieces were destroyed by fire in 1621. Paul Mantz, in *L'Œuvre et la Vie*, pp. 139, 140, suggests that the Strozzi fragments may have gone to Spain, and quotes Vicente Carducho (1633), who had seen certain "*nadadores in lapiz colorado, de Micael-Angel*," in the palace of the Count of Monterey, Viceroy of Naples. *Colored* pencil does not tally with Vasari's description, but the Spaniard might have erred as to the color, either in expression or from lack of memory.

[69] Certain fragmentary studies for the Cartoon still exist. The most complete of these studies is in Vienna; it varies greatly from the other sketches, and may probably, thinks M. Müntz, be considered the first thought of the master in reference to the work. It should be noted that the group of the Bathers and Climbers, which is so famous and well known, was only a part of, and an episode from, a whole picture. There are drawings at Oxford of figures on horseback which probably belonged to the subject. Vienna possesses also a second study of three figures; there is a drawing for two figures in the Academy of Venice, there are four figures (drawn by Daniel of Volterra) in the Uffizi. Marco Antonio made a very fine engraving of three figures (called the Climbers); the figure of a man lying down and turning quietly as he lies, exists also as a separate engraving in the Cabinet d'Estampes, Paris, and there is an important *grisaglio* at Holkham, in England, by Aristotile da San Gallo; see also the engraving by Agostino Vineziano representing the central group; see M. Müntz, *La Fin de la Renaissance*, pp. 470, 471, note 4. Symonds says that the landscape in the group of the Climbers was introduced by Marco Antonio (having been adapted by him from a copper-plate of Lucas Van Leyden), and evidently did not exist in Michelangelo's Cartoon.

preserved with great reverence, as indeed they well deserve to be; for in looking at them one cannot but consider them rather of divine than merely human origin.[70]

The fame of Michelagnolo had now, by his Pietà, by the Colossal Statue in Florence, and by his Cartoon, become so much bruited abroad, that in 1503,[71] when our artist was about twenty-nine years old, he was invited to Rome with great favour by Julius II., who had succeeded Alexander VI. on the papal throne. Here His Holiness, who had

[70] Michelangelo, in his Cartoon, rejects all realism of accessory or surroundings of armor or landscape, and makes the nude human body the one material of his picture. M. Müntz, *La Fin de la Renaissance*, p. 472, notes this complete abandonment of the manner of the *quattrocentro*, and the fact that, saving in Signorelli's frescoes of Orvieto, no such great assemblage of nude bodies had as yet been seen in Renaissance art. Some of the cleverest appreciations of the Cartoon are those of Symonds in his Michelangelo; he considers the Cartoon the central point in the artist's life, "the watershed which divided his earlier from his later manner." Cellini said of it, that in spite of the beauty of the Sistine Chapel, Michelangelo never again "rose half-way to the same pitch of power; his genius never afterward attained to the force of those first studies." Symonds, in accounting for so remarkable a statement on the part of Benvenuto, touches the very core of the question, in saying that as years advanced Michelangelo departed gradually but surely from the path of nature, but used what he "had learned from nature as means for the expression of soul-stimulating thoughts." This greatest feature of his genius neither Cellini nor any other contemporaneous artist could "adequately comprehend." Accordingly they agreed in extolling a Cartoon which displayed his faculty of dealing with *un bel corpo ignudo* as the climax of his powers. To put it more simply, certain figures from the Cartoon are more perfect as "Academies," more *correct* than the finest figures in the vaulting of the Sistine Chapel. The latter are far nobler, they are phenomenal, and were therefore harder to understand; the Bathers, on the other hand, to judge from such drawings as we have, were more like the contemporaneous well-muscled model, while the movements were absolutely new in art, but had been seen in nature. No one had seen such sublime men and women as the naked youths of the Sistina, the Sibyls of Delphi and of Libya, no one but Michelangelo *could* see such. Therefore an artist, who like Cellini had followed the Pollajuoli, Verrocchio and Signorelli in their evolution of the knowledge of muscular structure, exclaimed before these consummately correct yet free drawings in the cartoon of Michelangelo, "Eureka! Here is the perfect delineation of the human figure."

[71] In 1505 rather; it is not known why he abandoned the Cartoon. Michelangelo himself forgot the date, for as early as 1542 he speaks of being at Carrara in the first year of the pontificate of Julius II., that is to say, 1503.

caused one hundred crowns to be paid to Michelagnolo by his agents for travelling expenses, commissioned him to prepare his Sepulchral Monument, but he had been several months in Rome before he was directed to make any commencement.[72] Finally, it was determined that a design which he had made for that Tomb, should be adopted,[73] and this work also bore ample testimony to the genius of the Master, seeing that, in beauty, magnificence, superb ornament, and wealth of statues, it surpassed every other sepulchre, not excepting the Imperial tombs, or those of antiquity. Encouraged by this success, Pope Julius ultimately determined to rebuild the Church of San Pietro, for the purpose of worthily installing the monument abovementioned within it,[74] as has been related elsewhere.

Michelagnolo then set hand to his work with great spirit,[75] repairing for that purpose, with two of his disciples, to Carrara, to superintend the excavation of the marbles, having first received one thousand crowns in Florence from Alamanno Salviati, on account of those works.[76]

[72] As Michelangelo reached Rome in January or February, 1505, and in April proceeded to Carrara to purchase marble for the tomb of Julius, he could hardly have waited "several months." Vasari here follows Condivi, who was doubtless led astray by Michelangelo himself; see preceding note.

[73] The price agreed upon was 16,500 ducats, which M. Müntz, *La Fin de la Renaissance*, p. 388, computes to be equivalent to 825,000 francs. Seven years were to be allowed for the completion of the tomb.

[74] The foundation-stone of the new church was laid April 18, 1506, by Julius II. In order to obtain funds for the building of Saint Peter's the sale of indulgences assumed such proportions, and was urged with such scandalous freedom of speech, that the German Catholics were outraged. Luther's resistance was strengthened, and in the end the church which was intended to be the supreme monument of the papacy became the visible sign of the greatest of all schisms, and the herald of the Reformation.

[75] Here begins what Condivi has aptly called the "Tragedy of the Tomb;" which had a marked influence on Michelangelo's life. The construction shrank to the present monument in the church of San Pietro in Vincoli, in Rome, from the enormous mausoleum which would have measured 23½ by 33 feet. A tomb of this size would have indeed required the largest church in the world to display it adequately.

[76] Condivi says: "One day, having ascended a mountain which commands

In those mountains, then, he spent eight months without receiving any additional stipend or supplies of any kind, amusing himself meanwhile by planning all manner of immense figures to be hewn in those rocks, in memorial of himself, as did certain of the ancients, invited thereto by the vast masses before him. Having finally selected all that he required, he loaded them on ships, which he despatched to Rome, where they filled the entire half of the Piazza, which is towards Santa Caterina, and the whole space between the church and the corridor leading to the Castello, where Michelagnolo had his studio, and where he prepared the Statues and all other things needful for the Tomb. And to the end that His Holiness might come conveniently to see the artist at work, there was a drawbridge constructed between the corridor and the studio, a circumstance which gave rise to so close an intimacy,[77] that the favourable notice thus bestowed on Michelagnolo having awakened great envy among the artists of his own calling, occasioned him much vexation and even persecution. Of this work Michelagnolo finished four Statues and commenced eight others, either during the life or after the death of Pope Julius; and as the arrangements made for this work give proof of extraordinary powers of invention, we will here describe the principal features thereof.[78]

a widely extended prospect over the Mediterranean, he was moved by the sight of the huge blocks of marble lying around him to plan the erection of a colossal figure which could be seen by mariners far out at sea." The project, like that of Dinocrates for fashioning Mount Athos into a statue of Alexander, was never carried out. In L. Simonin's *La Toscane et la Mer Tyrrhénienne*, Paris, 1868, there is a study of the exploitation of the marbles of Serravezza, Altissimo, and Carrara. See also C. Frediano, *Ragionamento storico su le diverse gite fatte a Carrara da M. Buonarroti*, Massa, 1837, second edition, Siena, 1875; E. Lazzoni, *Michelangelo Buonarroti, sue relazioni colla città di Carrara*, Carrara, 1875.

[77] Symonds, in dwelling upon the sympathy between Michelangelo and Pope Julius II., says that both "these *uomeni terribili* . . . worked *con furia* and with the impetuosity of demoniac natures."

[78] As this passage did not appear in the first edition, and as it differs but little from Condivi's description, Vasari's indebtedness to the latter appears probable.

For the greater magnificence of the effect,[79] it was decided that the tomb should be wholly isolated, a passage remaining entirely around it, the fabric being eighteen braccia in extent on two sides, and twelve on the other two, the dimensions thus presenting a square and a half : a range of niches passed entirely around it, and these were interchanged by terminal figures, clothed from the middle upwards, and bearing the first cornice on their heads, while to every one was bound a captive in a strange distorted attitude, the feet of these prisoners resting on the projection of a socle or basement. These captives were intended to signify the Provinces subjugated by Pope Julius, and brought by him into the obedience of the apostolic Church. There were other statues, also bound, and these represented the Fine Arts and Liberal Sciences, which were thus intimated to be subjected to death no less than was that Pontiff, by whom they had been so honourably protected. On the angles of the first cornice were four large figures, representing Active Life and Contemplative Life, with St. Paul and Moses.[80]

[79] M. Müntz epitomizes the history of the Tomb as follows (*La Fin de la Renaissance*, p. 387): by the agreement of 1512 the tomb was to consist of a colossal sarcophagus, around which sarcophagus there was to be a marble enclosure with statues of Victories and subjugated Provinces placed in niches, and of the Liberal Arts standing before pillars; a second story of this enclosure was also to receive colossal statues. In 1513, after the death of the pope, the artist, by a second contract, agreed to finish the tomb in seven years for 16,500 ducats (*circa* 825,000 francs). In 1516 a third contract accorded nine years to the sculptor, but required, in addition to the reliefs, etc., thirty statues. Leo X. now intervened and occupied the sculptor upon other work (project for the *façade* of San Lorenzo, etc.). In 1532, by still another contract, Michelangelo, who had received 8,000 ducats, agreed to furnish only six statues, among them the Active and Contemplative Life, and finally the Moses. In 1542 Michelangelo was making use of collaborators, and in 1545 the monument in its present form was set up in the Church of San Pietro in Vincoli.

[80] Vasari, of course, here refers to what was to have been, and not to what was actually executed. For a discussion of the sketches, including the Uffizi pen-and-ink sketch, and their claims to authenticity, see Symonds, *op. cit.*, I., pp. 137, 138. The late J. Henry Middleton's remarkable reconstruction of the tomb of Pope Julius is also given in the same work. See also Heath Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 74, and the account of the various contracts made under different

Above the cornice the fabric gradually diminished, exhibiting a frieze of stories in bronze, with figures of angels in the form of boys, and other ornaments around them; and over all, at the summit of the work, were two figures, one of which, having a smiling aspect, represented Heaven, and bore a bier on the shoulder; the other represented Cybele, who appeared to be weeping at her misfortune of being compelled to remain in a world deprived of all genius by the death of so great a man, while Heaven was smiling because his soul had passed to the celestial regions. The fabric was so arranged that a free passage remained between the niches, the spectator passing in or out by the ends of the quadrangular edifice, which was of an oval form, and resembled a temple in that part destined to receive the dead body of Julius. Finally, there were to be added forty statues in marble, to say nothing of the numerous stories, angels, and other ornaments, or of the richly carved cornices and architectural decorations.

To forward the progress of the work, moreover, Michelagnolo had arranged that a portion of the marbles should be sent to Florence, where it was his custom to pass a part of the summer, by way of avoiding the malaria of Rome, and where he did in fact complete the several pieces [81] required for one entire side of the monument. In Rome also he finished two of the captives,[82] which were indeed divine, with

dates, recorded in M. de Montaiglon's contribution to *L'Œuvre et la Vie de Michel-Ange.*

[81] M. Müntz (*La Fin de la Renaissance*, p. 388) notes that the statues destined for the Tomb which still remain, fall into four groups: viz., the two Slaves in the Louvre; four other statues of slaves in the Boboli Gardens, Florence; the Genius of Victory in the Bargello at Florence; and lastly, the monument in S. Pietro in Vincoli, in Rome, which includes the statues of Moses and of the Active and Contemplative Life.

[82] Springer believes that the so-called Captives were executed about 1512. When the scale of the mausoleum was diminished the statues of the Captives were no longer considered in reference to the Tomb, and Michelangelo gave the two completed, or nearly completed ones to Roberto Strozzi, a warm friend, who in 1544 had cared for the sculptor during an illness. Strozzi took them to France; whether they were given to the king, and by him to the Constable de Montmorency, or were bought directly from Strozzi by the Con-

some other statues, so good that better have never been seen. But as these figures were not used for the Tomb, Michelagnolo afterwards gave the two captives above-mentioned to the Signor Roberto Strozzi, in whose house he lay sick, and by whom they were sent to King Francis. They are now at Cevan,[83] in France. Our artist likewise commenced eight Statues in Rome with five in Florence,[84] and

stable, they became the property of the latter and stood in the court of his château of Écouen till 1632, when they were given to Cardinal Richelieu, who took them to his château in Poitou; somewhat before 1749 the Maréchal de Richelieu had them at his hôtel in Paris, later his wife put them in the stables of her house in the Faubourg du Roule, and they would have been sold to the first-comer had not Lenoir bought them in 1793 for the nation. (See M. de Montaiglon, in *L'Œuvre et la Vie*, p. 251.) They are now in the Louvre. J. C. Robinson believes that a small sketch in wax in the South Kensington Museum is a study for one of these figures. The statues of the Captive Youths, or Captive Arts, rank among the greatest of the sculptor's works. M. de Montaiglon says of the figure with closed eyes, "Michelangelo has made more vigorous statues, but never any more beautiful or more perfect." It is perhaps the most perfectly graceful of Buonarroti's statues, and ranks in sculpture with the Adam or the finest of the seated youths in the frescoes of the Sistine Chapel. Like most of Michelangelo's masterpieces it is wholly different not only from the works of precursors and followers, but also from his own other statues, the movement is less strained than we often find it in Buonarroti's work, and is as original as in his other *capo d'. opere.* We are told that the sculptor intended these captive youths to typify Liberal Arts enslaved by the same fate which had taken the life of the pope. M. de Montaiglon suggests that the rough-hewn outlines of an ape crouching behind one of the figures may indicate that the figure itself represents the Art of Painting, the ape of nature, "*La Scimia della natura.*"

[83] Cevan is evidently Écouen; the spelling of French proper names by Italian authors of the sixteenth century is generally grotesque.

[84] See note 81 for the works which were executed for the Tomb. It has been noted that the figure of Victory (now in the Bargello) would probably have been completed by the addition of wings, a drawing in the Casa Buonarroti showing this complement to have been intended by the sculptor, see M. Eug. Guillaume, *Études d'Art antique et moderne.* M. Müntz, *op. cit.*, p. 390, says of the Victory as compared with Donatello's St. George, "*C'est la névrose du courage opposée à une assurance calme et digne.*" Heath Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 242, believes that the Boboli Garden figures were intended for the *façade* of San Lorenzo, perhaps as garland-bearers (after the manner of those in the Sistine Chapel). He thinks that this possibility of a garland might account for the mass of marble used, and says that the stride of one of these figures amounts to three feet seven inches, whereas the pedestals in front of the monument of Julius are but two feet wide. (It must be added in answer to

finished a figure of Victory, with a prisoner lying beneath her feet. This is now in the possession of Duke Cosimo, to whom the group was presented by Leonardo, the nephew of Michelagnolo, and who has placed it in the Great Hall of his Palace painted by Vasari.

The Moses, in marble, five braccia high, was also completed by Michelagnolo, and never will any modern work approach the beauty of this statue; nay, one might with equal justice affirm, that of the ancient statues none is equal to this.[85] Seated in an attitude of imposing dignity, the Lawgiver rests one arm on the Tables, and with the other restrains the flowing beard, that, descending softly, is so treated as to exhibit the hair (which presents so great a difficulty in sculpture) soft, downy, and separated, hair from hair, in such sort, as might appear to be impossible, unless the chisel had become a pencil. The countenance is of the most sublime beauty, and may be described as that of a truly sacred and most mighty prince; but to say nothing of this, while you look at it, you would almost believe the figure to be on the point of demanding a veil wherewith to conceal that face, the beaming splendour of which is so dazzling to mortal gaze. So well, at a word, has the artist rendered the divinity which the Almighty had imparted to the most holy countenance of that great Lawgiver.[86] The

this suggestion that our present knowledge of the pedestal is not definitive). This author is inclined to include among the statues of the Tomb the so-called dying Adonis in the Bargello, but M. Guillaume makes the Adonis contemporaneous with the David (going back possibly to the year 1502), and finds certain resemblances between the two statues. He calls especial attention to the head of the Adonis as absolutely typical of the facial ideal which Michelangelo held fast to and elaborated more or less throughout his career as sculptor.

[85] The Moses was finished somewhat before 1534. M. Guillaume, the sculptor (*L'Œuvre et la Vie*, p. 83), in noting that this statue owes its origin to the same inspiration which called forth the prophets of the Sistine, says that if the lines are more compact in the Moses it is undoubtedly because of the exigencies of the marble block intended for so different a situation. He finds that the "whole right side of the figure, which makes one straight perpendicular line, was without doubt to have been turned toward a wall."

[86] De Stendhal, in his *Histoire de la Peinture en Italie*, says that England

draperies also are most effectively raised from the marble ground, and are finished with beautiful foldings of the edges: the muscles of the arms, with the anatomical development and nerves of the hands, are exhibited to the utmost perfection; and the same may be said of the lower limbs, which, with the knees and feet, are clothed in admirably appropriate vestments. At a word, the sculptor has completed his work in such sort that Moses may be truly affirmed more than ever now to merit his name of the friend of God.[87] Nay, the Jews are to be seen every Saturday, or on their Sabbath, hurrying like a flight of swallows, men and

was the first country to ask for a copy. The Prince Regent had a cast made in 1816; in making it the workmen were obliged to withdraw the statue from its niche, and as it was found that its new position was more favorable the latter was retained. M. de Montaiglon, in *L'Œuvre et la Vie*, cites the following works as referring to the Moses: Cancellieri, *Lettera al Canonico Dom. Moreni sopra la statua di Mosè*, Florence, 1823 (this work is accompanied by a bibliography of works relative to the Moses). E. Pistolesi, *Il Mosè * * * * * descritto ed illustrato*, Rome, 1859. W. W. Lloyd, The Moses of Michaelangelo, a Study of Art, History and Legend, London, 1863.

[87] The monument of Pope Julius, in the form which it was eventually given, is insignificant if we contrast it with what either Julius or Michelangelo intended, or with what the latter achieved when freely working out his own thought. But its insignificance is architectonic and makes itself felt only when we consider it as an *ensemble*. The principal factor is magnificent, and produces a powerful impression in spite of its unsatisfactory position. In looking at the Moses we must remember that it is placed too low down, too near the spectator, and that it can necessarily bear no true relation to surroundings which Michelangelo did not originally plan for it. We may even "be repelled," says Symonds, "by the goat-like features, the enormous beard, the ponderous muscles, the grotesque garments." Nevertheless the Moses is so different from any other statue—so different in its reflection of Michelangelo's tremendous personality—that once seen it is never forgotten. The cataract of beard is unlike all other beards that have been carved or painted, and the "goat-like features" possess majesty. To one it may seem a great god Pan, to another—the seventeenth century sonneteer, for instance, whom Symonds translates and quotes—

> "'Tis Moses when he left the mount with part,
> A great part, of God's glory round him thrown."

M. Guillaume, speaking with authority as a sculptor, considers the statue in many respects Michelangelo's masterpiece.

women, to visit and worship this figure, not as a work of the human hand, but as something divine.[88]

Having at length made all his preparations, and approached the conclusion of the same, Michelagnolo erected one portion of the Tomb, the shorter sides namely, at San Pietro in Vincoli.[89] It is said that while he was employed on that operation, a certain part of the marbles arrived from Carrara, where they had been suffered to remain, and as it was necessary to pay those who had delivered them, our artist repaired to the Pope, as was his custom. But finding His Holiness engaged with important intelligence just received from Bologna, he returned home, and paid with his own money, expecting to receive the order for it from the Pontiff immediately. He went to the palace a few days after therefore, but was again desired to wait and take patience, by a groom of the chambers, who affirmed that he was forbidden to admit him. A Bishop who stood near observed to the attendant that he was perhaps unacquainted with the person of the man whom he refused to admit; but the groom replied that he knew him only too well. "I, however," he added, "am here to do as my superiors command, and to obey the orders of the Pope." Displeased with this reply, the master departed, bidding the attendant tell His Holiness when next he should inquire for Michelagnolo, that he had gone elsewhere. He then returned to his dwelling, and ordering two of his servants to sell all his moveables to the Jews, and then follow him to Florence, he took post-horses that same night, and left Rome.

Arrived at Poggibonsi, a town on the road to the first-named city, in the Florentine territory, and consequently in a place of safety, the master made a halt; five couriers followed him one after another with letters from the Pope,

[88] This is a curious and interesting, though doubtful, statement, as we have been generally led to suppose that no Jew of the time would have voluntarily entered a Christian church.

[89] Julius II. chose San Pietro in Vincoli because it had given him his cardinal's title.

and orders to convey him back, but no entreaty and no threat of the disgrace that would await him in case of refusal, would induce him to return. He was, however, finally prevailed on to write in reply, when he declared that His Holiness must excuse his returning to his presence, which he was resolved not to do, seeing that he, Julius, had driven him forth like a worthless person, which was a mode of treatment that his faithful service had not merited; he added that the Holy Father might seek elsewhere for some one who should serve him better.[90]

Having reached Florence, Michelagnolo set himself to complete the Cartoon for the Great Hall, at which he worked during the three months of his stay in the city, Piero Soderini, the Gonfaloniere, being anxious to see it finished. The Signoria meanwhile received three Briefs, with the request that Michelagnolo might be sent back to Rome,[91] but the latter, doubting what this eagerness of the Pope might portend, entertained, as it is said, some intention of going to Constantinople, there to serve the Grand Seigneur, who sought to engage him, by means of certain Franciscan Monks, for the purpose of constructing a bridge to connect Constantinople with Pera. But the Gonfaloniere labouring to induce Michelagnolo to repair to the Pope instead, and the master still refusing, Soderini at length prevailed on him to do so by investing him with the character of Ambassador[92] from the Florentine Republic, and recommending him also to the care of his brother, the Cardinal Soderini, whom he charged to introduce Michelagnolo to His Holiness; he then sent the artist to Bologna, in which city Pope Julius had already arrived from Rome.[93]

[90] About the end of April, 1506.

[91] The briefs of the pope practically demanded Michelangelo's extradition.

[92] This is doubtful, though he was given a letter to the brother of Soderini, the Cardinal of Volterra. This letter is published by Gaye in the *Carteggio*.

[93] According to Michelangelo himself, the groom's refusal to admit him was not his only reason for leaving Rome. In one of his own letters he affirms, "there was another thing which I do not wish to write down; it is enough to say that it made me believe that if I remained in Rome they would bury me

But there are some who ascribe Michelagnolo's departure from Rome, and his disputes with the Pope, to the following cause.[94] The artist would never suffer any one to see his works while in progress, but he suspected that his people sometimes permitted strangers to inspect them in his absence, and one day when the Pope, having bribed Michelagnolo's assistants, was entering the Chapel of his uncle Pope Sixtus, which he was causing our artist to paint, as will be related hereafter, the latter, who had that day hidden himself, because suspicious of his young men as we have said, rushed upon him with a plank of the scaffolding, and not perceiving whom it was that he was turning out, drove His Holiness forth in a fury. Let it suffice, however, that for one cause or another, Michelagnolo fell into discord with the Pope, and then, beginning to fear for his safety, departed from Rome as we have said.

Arrived at Bologna,[95] his feet were scarcely out of the stirrups before he was conducted by the servants of the Pontiff to the presence of His Holiness, who was at the Palace of the Sixteen. He was accompanied by a Bishop, sent by Cardinal Soderini, who was himself too ill to fulfil that office. Having reached the presence, Michelagnolo knelt down before His Holiness, who looked askance at him with an angry countenance, and said, "Instead of coming to us, it appears that thou hast been waiting till we should come to thee," in allusion to the fact that Bologna is nearer

before they buried the pope." Whether he feared dagger or poison, Bramante or others, will not be known, and it may be said both in exculpation of the sculptor and of those suspected by him, that Michelangelo was subject to these sudden fears of personal injury, fears which at least three times hurried him away from the city in which he was working. Soderini, between his love for Michelangelo, his love for Florence, which might be compromised, and his dread of the pope, was much embarrassed; at last he said, "You have braved the pope as the king of France would not have, but we have no mind to go to war for your sake; you must return." Nevertheless, three months and many letters passed before the sculptor would go back to Julius.

[94] See note 80 in the life of Raphael, Vol. III., p. 161. Vasari contradicts his own statement regarding Michelangelo's assistants, see p. 85.

[95] Michelangelo arrived in Bologna in December, 1506.

to Florence than is Rome. But with a clear voice and hands courteously extended, Michelagnolo excused himself, having first entreated pardon, admitting that he had acted in anger, but adding that he could not endure to be thus ordered away; if he had been in error, His Holiness would doubtless be pleased to forgive him.

Now the Bishop who had presented Michelagnolo, thinking to aid his excuses, ventured to remark that such men as he were always ignorant, knowing and being worth nothing whatever, once out of their vocation; but this threw the Pope into such a rage that he fell upon the Bishop with a stick which he had in his hand, exclaiming, "'Tis thou that art the ignoramus, with the impertinencies thou art pouring forth, and which are such as we should ourselves not think of uttering;" he then caused the Bishop to be driven out by the usher in waiting, with blows of his fist. This offender having departed, the Pope, his rage thus cooled upon the prelate, bestowed his benediction on Michelagnolo, who was detained in Bologna by numerous gifts and promises, His Holiness ultimately giving him the commission for a Statue in bronze, being a Portrait of that Pontiff himself five braccia high.[96] In this work, our artist displayed high powers of art, the attitude is majestic and graceful, the draperies are rich and magnificent, while the countenance exhibits animation, force, resolution, and an imposing dignity.

This Statue was placed in a niche over the Gate of San Petronio, and it is said that while Michelagnolo was en-

[96] A letter of Michelangelo says the statue was seven *braccia* high; he gives the cost as one thousand ducats; other contemporaneous authorities name different figures as to size and cost, but the artist, even when speaking years afterward, is naturally most likely to have been right. The Milanese Bernardino del Porto, master of ordnance of the Florentine Republic, cast the statue, part of the metal used came from a Bolognese gun, and part from one of the Bentivogli bells. The bronze failed to fill the mould on the first casting, and, coming out rough on the second, required much chiselling. The clay model was finished in 1506, the second casting took place July 2, 1507 (after Julius had returned to Rome), and the statue was placed in position February 21, 1508. (See *L'Œuvre et la Vie*, pp. 257–258.)

gaged therewith, he received a visit from the distinguished goldsmith and painter Francia, who had heard much of his fame and works, but had never seen any one of them. Measures were accordingly taken for obtaining permission, and Francia had leave to see the statue above-mentioned. He was much struck by the knowledge of art displayed, but on being asked what he thought, he replied that it was a fine casting and a beautiful material. Hearing which, Michelagnolo supposed that he was praising the bronze, rather than the artist and remarked to Francia: "I am as much obliged for it to Pope Julius who gave it me, as you are to the shopkeepers, who supply you with your colours for painting;" he furthermore added angrily, in the presence of all the gentlemen standing near, that Francia was a dunce. It was on this occasion that Michelagnolo remarked to a son of Francia, who was a very beautiful youth: "The living figures made by thy father are handsomer than those that he paints."

Among the gentlemen present at this visit, was one who asked Michelagnolo which was the larger, the statue of that Pope or a pair of oxen. "That depends on what the animals may be," replied the artist; "for if they are Bolognese oxen it is certain that our Florentines are not such great brutes as those are." The statue was finished in the clay model, before Pope Julius left Bologna for Rome, and His Holiness went to see it, but, the right hand being raised in an attitude of much dignity, and the Pontiff not knowing what was to be placed in the left, inquired whether he were anathematizing the people or giving them his benediction; Michelagnolo replied, that he was admonishing the Bolognese to behave themselves discreetly, and asked His Holiness to decide whether it were not well to put a book in the left hand. "Put a sword into it," replied Pope Julius, "for of letters I know but little."[97] The Pon-

[97] In reality he held neither book nor sword, but had the keys in his left hand while he gave the benediction with the right hand. See A. de Montaiglon in *L'Œuvre et la Vie*, p. 258.

tiff left a thousand crowns in the Bank of M. Antonmaria da Lignano, for the purpose of completing the figure; and after Michelagnolo had laboured at it for sixteen months, it was placed over the door of San Petronio, as we have before-mentioned when describing the size of the statue. The work was eventually destroyed by the Bentivogli, and the bronze was sold to the Duke Alfonso of Ferrara, who made a piece of artillery called the Julia, of the fragments:[98] the head only was preserved, and this is now in the Duke's Guardaroba.[99]

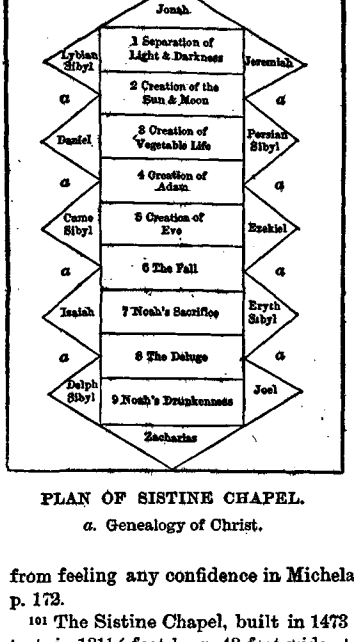
The Pope having returned to Rome and Michelagnolo being still engaged with the Statue, Bramante, who was the friend and kinsman of Raffaello, and but little disposed to befriend Michelagnolo, availed himself of his absence to influence the mind of Julius, whom he saw to be much inclined to works of Sculpture, and hoping so to contrive that, on the return of Michelagnolo, His Holiness should no longer think of completing the Sepulchre, Bramante suggested that for a man to prepare his tomb during life was an evil augury and a kind of invitation to death. At a word, the Pontiff was persuaded to employ Michelagnolo on his return in the painting of that Chapel, which had been constructed in the Palace and at the Vatican, in memory of his uncle Pope Sixtus. Bramante and the other rivals of Michelagnolo, thinking they should thus detach him from his Sculpture, in which they saw that he was perfect, and throw him into despair, they being convinced that by compelling him to paint in fresco they should also bring him to exhibit works of less perfection, (he having but little experience in that branch of art), and thus prove himself inferior to Raphael. Or even supposing him to

[98] The statue was destroyed on December 30, 1511.

[99] This cannon has disappeared. Above the door where the statue had stood a picture of God the Father took its place, the name of Julius was obliterated, and with true Italian aptitude for finding sonorous inscriptions, the Bolognese substituted the words "*Scitote quoniam Deus ipse est Dominus.*" Even the head of the pope has disappeared, and not a model or sketch can be identified as having been made for this statue.

succeed in the work, it was almost certain that he would be so much enraged against the Pope as to secure the success of their purpose, which was to rid themselves of his presence.[100]

When Michelagnolo returned to Rome, therefore, he found Julius no longer disposed to have the Tomb finished, but desiring that Michelagnolo should paint the ceiling of the Chapel.[101] This was a great and difficult labour, and our artist, aware of his own inexperience, did all he




PLAN OF SISTINE CHAPEL.

*a.* Genealogy of Christ.

[100] This improbable story is practically disproved. The cartoon of the Battle of Pisa had made Michelangelo famous as draughtsman and worker upon flat surfaces, and to this guarantee of the sculptor's competency as painter is to be added the fact that Bramante would not willingly have seen so great a commission pass away from the men of his own artistic group—Raphael, Bazzi, and Peruzzi. Vasari himself in his Life of Giuliano da San Gallo says that Giuliano proposed to Julius that Michelangelo should paint the Sistine, and Pietro Rosselli's letter of May 10, 1506, to the sculptor, claims that Bramante was doing what he could to prevent the pope from feeling any confidence in Michelangelo as painter. See Milanesi, VII., p. 172.

[101] The Sistine Chapel, built in 1473 by Baccio Pontelli, a Florentine architect, is 131½ feet long, 43 feet wide at the altar-end, and 68 feet high. It is lighted by twelve windows, six on either side, and the altar is placed against the northern end. In the ill-constructed vaulting the curves are irregular, though this irregularity cannot be perceived from the floor. Such is the simple form of the building which Michelangelo has raised to the first rank among the monuments of the world. "The three treasure-houses of art are," says Mr. Ruskin, "the Arena Chapel of Padua, the Sistine Chapel, the Scuola of San Rocco in Venice." To this may be added Springer's words (*Die Deckenbelder der sixtinischen Kapelle*, in *Raffael und Michelangelo*) affirming that three chapels, the Palatine in Palermo, the Sainte Chapelle of Paris, and the Sistina, are the "three most precious treasure-caskets of art."

Michelangelo. The Creation of Man.

could to excuse himself from undertaking the work, proposing at the same time that it should be confided to Raphael. But the more he refused the more Pope Julius insisted,[102] impetuous in all his desires, and stimulated by the competitors of Michelagnolo, more especially by Bramante, he was on the point of making a quarrel with our artist, when the latter, finding His Holiness determined, resolved to accept the task. The Pope then ordered Bramante to prepare the scaffolding, which the latter suspended by ropes, perforating the ceiling for that purpose. Seeing this, Michelagnolo inquired of the architect how the holes thus made were to be filled in when the painting should be completed; to which Bramante replied that they would think of that when the time came, and that it could not be done otherwise. But Michelagnolo, perceiving that the architect was either incapable or unfriendly towards himself, went at once to the Pope, whom he assured that such a scaffolding was not the proper one, adding that Bramante did not know how to construct it; and Julius, in the presence of Bramante, replied, that Michelagnolo might construct it himself after his own fashion. The latter then erected his scaffolding on props in such a manner that the walls were not injured, and this method has since been pursued by Bramante and others, who were hereby taught the best way in which preparations for the execution of pictures on ceilings, and other works of the kind could be made, the ropes used by Bramante and which Michelagnolo's construction had rendered needless, the latter gave to the poor carpenter, by whom the scaffolding was rebuilt, and who sold them for a sum which enabled him to make up the dowry of his daughter.[103]

[102] The scaffolding was like the deck of a ship; upon it portable scaffolds of various altitudes were erected to permit of reaching the unequal surface of the vaulted roof.

[103] It has been remarked that the record, still existing, for these payments is too small to justify the story of the dowry, but not only are the dowries of the Italian working-people very small, but it is also to be noted that Vasari only says that the carpenter was enabled to "make up" the dowry.

Michelagnolo now began to prepare the Cartoons,[104] for the ceiling, His Holiness giving orders to the effect that all the paintings executed on the walls by older masters in the time of Pope Sixtus, should be destroyed,[105] it was furthermore decided that Michelagnolo should receive fifteen thousand ducats for the work, an estimation of its value which was made by Giuliano da San Gallo. But the extent of the work now compelled Michelagnolo to seek assistance; he therefore sent for men to Florence, resolving to prove himself the conqueror of all who had preceded him, and to show modern artists how drawing and painting ought to be done. The circumstances of the case became a stimulus to his exertions, and impelled him forward, not for his own fame only, but for the welfare of Art also. He had finished the cartoons, but deferred commencing the frescoes until certain of the Florentine painters who were his friends should arrive in Rome, partly to decrease his labour by assisting in the execution of the work, but also in part to show him the processes of fresco-painting, wherein some of them were well-experienced.[106] Among these artists were

[104] Most of the cartoons for the vault are lost. This is not surprising in view of the nature of the work and the very severe handling which such cartoons *must* receive. In the first place, the pouncing defaces them so hopelessly that only careful cleaning can make them presentable; in the second place, it is often convenient to cut a cartoon apart and apply it piecemeal, because the size and weight of the paper make the management and tacking of an entire cartoon very difficult where the surface upon which it is to be applied is overhead, and where all the drag is directly away from the wall. Curved surfaces still further increase the difficulty, so that cartoons are very likely to be cut to pieces and blackened to such an extent that the artist, annoyed by their volume, by the space they occupy, the dust which they accumulate, and (with their pouncing powder) help to make, often destroys them as soon as they have completely served their purpose. Very few cartoons for any large frescoes, by whatsoever masters, remain to us, whereas had these drawings not been subjected perforce to such rough handling and damage, many of them would have come down to us, as has been the case with smaller studies and sketches.

[105] These orders, if they ever were given, were not carried out, as the works of the early masters still exist. Michelangelo was ordered to paint down to the "pictured histories" on the lower row. Had this been done the double row of Botticelli's Popes would have been destroyed.

[106] This passage in Vasari has been greatly discussed, but may be accepted

Granacci, Giuliano Bugiardini, Jacopo di Sandro, and the elder Indaco, with Agnolo da Donnino, and Aristotile da Sangallo.

These masters having reached the city, the work was begun, and Michelagnolo caused them to paint a portion by way of specimen, but what they had done was far from

*au pied de la lettre.* In such a tremendous undertaking any master would at least make the experiment of trying to use assistants, and as to these latter showing him the processes of fresco painting, nothing was more natural than that they should do so. Michelangelo knew the principle of fresco painting, every artist in Italy knew it, but any man who since he was a boy had not touched a medium which he was about to take up again on a very large and exacting scale, would be glad of the hints as to purely technical matters, that practitioners could give him. The cartoon of the Battle of Pisa has been adduced as a proof that the master could handle color before he undertook the painting of the Sistine Chapel, but the cartoon was apparently executed with the point and with the stump in chalks, colored or otherwise, and such execution would prove little regarding work in fresco. The first scheme agreed upon between Michelangelo and the Pope was that the former should simply paint the twelve apostles on the pendentives, and that the vaulting above should be filled in with decorative patterns, something for instance like those with which the ceiling of the *Libreria* of Siena is decorated. M. de Montaiglon, *op. cit.*, p. 259, is of the opinion that the artist in designing these figures of the apostles might have used some of the drawings or ideas which served him for the statues ordered by the Duomo of Florence, but which were never carried out, and the same writer believes that it may have been upon this first and unadopted decoration that Michelangelo's assistants tried their hands unsuccessfully.

It is not necessary to go far to account for their failure; they were asked to carry out the conception of an artist who was utterly different from any painter who had come before them or who came after them. His intellectual scheme towered above the *quattrocento* traditions of these Florentine painters as utterly as their Campanile overtopped the house-roofs of their city; it was certain from the beginning that they could not carry out Michelangelo's wishes. Harford has put it thus: "As none of the suitors of Penelope could bend the bow of Ulysses so one hand alone was capable of wielding the pencil of Buonarroti." Michelangelo's own handling of fresco as a medium, was skilful, as the vaulting proves, being at once delicate and powerful. Heath Wilson, who has had a better opportunity than any other contemporary critic of examining the surfaces, thinks that as handling it was unsurpassed, perhaps hardly equalled, by that of any other *frescante.* This fact does not militate against the desirability of engaging assistants to do subsidiary portions of the frescoes, or to give Michelangelo such knowledge, as their daily practice afforded, of technical and material points, the quality of pigment and plaster, time needed for drying, etc.

approaching his expectations or fulfilling his purpose, and one morning he determined to destroy the whole of it. He then shut himself up in the chapel, and not only would he never again permit the building to be opened to them, but he likewise refused to see any one of them at his house. Finally therefore, and when the jest appeared to them to be carried too far, they returned, ashamed and mortified, to Florence.[107] Michelagnolo then made arrangements for performing the whole work himself,[108] sparing no care nor labour, in the hope of bringing the same to a satisfactory termination, nor would he ever permit himself to be seen, lest he should give occasion for a request to show the work;[109] wherefore there daily arose, in the minds of all around him, a more and more earnest desire to behold it. Now Pope Julius, always greatly enjoyed watching the progress of the works he had undertaken, and more than ever desired to inspect anything that was purposely concealed from him: thus it happened that he one day went to see the chapel, as we have related, when the refusal of Michelagnolo to admit him, occasioned that dispute which caused the master to leave Rome, as before described.[110]

Michelagnolo afterwards told me the cause of this refusal, which was as follows: When he had completed about one-third of the painting, the prevalence of the north wind during the winter months had caused a sort of mould to appear on the pictures; and this happened from the fact that in Rome, the plaster, made of travertine and puzzolana, does not dry rapidly, and while in a soft state is somewhat dark and very fluent, not to say watery; when the

[107] Heath Wilson thinks Michelangelo was incapable of a harsh dismissal of these men, but his life abounds with testimony that sharpness and tenderness alternated in the sculptor's treatment of others.

[108] It is now generally admitted that the entire work upon the Sistine Chapel vaulting took four years, beginning, according to Michelangelo's own record, on May 10, 1508.

[109] Heath Wilson finds traces of the hand of a practical decorator in the backgrounds near the figures and other parts of the architectural setting. He also notes that a skilled hand was employed to print the inscriptions.

[110] See page 78 and note 94.

wall is covered with this mixture, therefore, it throws out an efflorescence arising from the humid saltness which bursts forth; but this is in time evaporated and corrected by the air. Michelagnolo was, indeed, in despair at the sight of these spots, and refused to continue the work, declaring to the Pope that he could not succeed therein, but His Holiness sent Giuliano da Sangallo to look at it, and he, telling our artist whence these spots arose, encouraged him to proceed, by teaching him how they might be removed.[111]

When the half was completed,[112] Pope Julius, who had subsequently gone more than once to see the work (mounting ladders for that purpose with Michelagnolo's aid),[113] and whose temper was hasty and impatient, would insist on having the pictures opened to public view, without waiting until the last touches had been given thereto, and the chapel was no sooner thrown open than all Rome hastened thither, the Pope being the first; he had indeed, not patience to

[111] It is probable that for a time during the winter months in Rome fresco painting would be nearly impossible. Heath Wilson (*op. cit.*, p. 159, note 1) suggests that the part which suffered injury may not be a portion of the present work (Condivi, however, specifies the Deluge as the part affected). Layard considers it probable that Michelangelo was dissatisfied with the small size of his figures in the Deluge. The change of scale in the next compartment warrants this hypothesis. See Layard's Kugler, II., p. 458. Other critics believe that there was no change of intention in regard to scale, and that Michelangelo made the figures in the Deluge small only in order to follow traditions and have a crowded composition. Buonarroti was, however, the last man to consult artistic tradition, and whether the scale here planned was as retained, or not, it is unfortunate in effect and counts among the faults of the Sistine decoration. As a composition, also, the Deluge lacks balance and dignity.

[112] The uncovering took place November 1, 1509. It is impossible to affirm with certainty what "half" the work meant. Condivi distinctly says, "from the door to the middle of the vaulting;" but Albertini declares that the upper part of the whole vaulted roof was uncovered when he saw it in 1509. This is not only a much more probable story, but also explains the otherwise inexplicable tale of Bramante's having tried to obtain the second half of the work for Raphael.

[113] It is not likely that the infirm old Pope climbed up ladders to inspect the work while there was an easy means of access. An outside stair led to the cornice, and from thence to the scaffold was only a distance of a few feet.

wait until the dust caused by removing the scaffold had subsided. Then it was that Raffaelo da Urbino, who was very prompt in imitation, having seen this work, instantly changed his manner, and to give proof of his ability, immediately executed the Prophets and Sibyls in the Church of the Pace.[114] Bramante also then laboured to convince Pope Julius that he would do well to confide the second half of the Chapel to Raffaelo.[115] Hearing of this Michel-

[114] In spite of all controversy the evidence of the work itself shows that beyond all question Raphael in his Sibyls of the Pace was strongly influenced by Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel, but as it was a frank and open imitation on the part of a man who never hesitated to adopt and adapt the manner of others, we may set aside the story of any secret visit to the Sistine on the part of Raphael, who had already been influenced by Michelangelo's Florentine works, and never concealed his admiration for the great Tuscan.

[115] Albertini's notice, see note 112, would seem to make this story clear. Had the Sistine roof been painted (Sibyls, Prophets, and rectangular compositions, that is to say, pediments and vaulting alike), from the door to the centre of the chapel, no Bramante or any other man of that artistic age would ever have asked the Pope to give the rest of the painting to a second artist, the proposition would have been wholly unreasonable. On the other hand, if the upper vaulting from end to end of the chapel, that is to say the scenes from Genesis, and the seated youths, had alone been painted (and Albertini, who saw it with his own eyes when half-completed, says it had, while Condivi speaks at second hand, long after the execution of the work, and very possibly misinterpreted Michelangelo's understanding of "half the work"), had this alone been painted, we have not the slightest right to complain of Bramante. He may have hated Michelangelo, he may have wished to diminish his glory and therein certainly may have showed himself in an evil light, but his wish to obtain the second half of the decoration for his warm friend and *protégé* Raphael, would not have been unnatural even had he, Bramante, felt no jealousy of Michelangelo. The Sistine Chapel had become a great art museum, the central jewel of the Vatican. Perugino, Signorelli, Ghirlandajo, and others had left vast works there; Botticelli had covered a huge space; now Michelangelo had painted the vaulting what more reasonable than that Raphael should have wished a place upon those coveted walls?

It is our great good fortune that he did not obtain his wish, for thus Michelangelo was enabled to develop his whole tremendous scheme in its entirety, and Raphael has given us his own great measure in the *Stanze;* but we have no more right to blame Raphael for the wish, or Bramante for the asking, than to find fault with the master of Urbino for having decorated the lower walls with his tapestries. The fact undoubtedly was that Michelangelo, who had commenced with dread, continued with confidence, saw the completion already in his mind, explained his thought to Julius, and that these two "terrible men" understood each other readily, and to our everlasting gain.

agnolo complained to the Pope of Bramante, enumerating at the same time, without sparing him, many faults in the life, as well as errors in the works, of that architect; of the latter, indeed, he did himself become the corrector at a subsequent period.[116] But Julius, who justly valued the ability of Michelagnolo, commanded that he should continue the work, judging from what he saw of the first half, that our artist would be able to improve the second materially; and the master accordingly finished the whole, completing it to perfection in twenty months, without having even the help of a man to grind the colours. It is true that he sometimes complained of the manner in which the Pope hastened forward the work, seeing that he was thereby prevented from giving it the finish which he would have desired to bestow; His Holiness constantly inquiring when it would be completed. On one occasion, therefore, Michelagnolo replied, "It will be finished when I shall have done all that I believed required to satisfy Art." "And we command," rejoined the Pontiff, "that you satisfy our wish to have it done quickly;" adding finally, that if it were not at once completed, he would have him, Michelagnolo, thrown headlong from the scaffolding.

Hearing this, our artist, who feared the fury of the Pope, and with good cause, desisted instantly, without taking time to add what was wanting, and took down the remainder of the scaffolding, to the great satisfaction of the whole city, on All Saints' day, when Pope Julius went into that Chapel to sing mass;[117] but Michelagnolo had much desired to retouch some portions of the work *a secco*, as had been done by the older masters who had painted the stories on the walls; he would also gladly have added a little ultramarine to some of the draperies, and gilded other

[116] Michelangelo made a fierce attack on Bramante because of his destruction of ancient monuments, notably the old basilica of St. Peter's.

[117] Vasari, following Condivi, here confuses the second and final opening of the chapel in 1512 with the earlier uncovering of the first half of the work on November 1, 1509, All Saints' day.

parts, to the end that the whole might have a richer and more striking effect. The Pope, too, hearing that these things were still wanting, and finding that all who beheld the Chapel praised it highly, would now fain have had the additions made, but as Michelagnolo thought reconstructing the scaffold too long an affair, the pictures remained as they were, although the Pope, who often saw Michelagnolo, would sometimes say, "Let the Chapel be enriched with bright colours and gold; it looks poor." When Michelagnolo would reply familiarly, "Holy Father, the men of those days did not adorn themselves with gold; those who are painted here less than any, for they were none too rich; besides which, they were holy men, and must have despised riches and ornaments."[118]

For this work Michelagnolo received from the Pope, in various payments, the sum of three thousand crowns, and of these he may have spent twenty-five in colours. He worked with great inconvenience to himself, having to labour with the face turned upwards, and injuring his eyes so much in the progress of the work,[119] that he could neither read let-

[118] Heath Wilson (Michelangelo, p. 175) states "that the frescoes are extensively retouched with size color, . . . evidently by Michelangelo." No trace of ultramarine now remains in the skies, and Michelangelo's wish was probably never carried out. Gilding is sparingly used, for instance on the thrones of the Prophets and Sibyls.

[119] Michelangelo says in one of his sonnets:

"I've grown a goitre by dwelling in this den—
As cats from stagnant streams in Lombardy,
Or in what other land they hap to be—
Which drives the belly close beneath the chin:
My beard turns up to heaven; my nape falls in,
Fixed on my spine: my breast-bone visibly
Grows like a harp: a rich embroidery
Bedews my face from brush-drops thick and thin:
My loins into my paunch like levers grind:
My buttock like a crupper bears my weight;
My feet unguided wander to and fro;
In front my skin grows loose and long;
By bending it becomes more taut and strait behind,
Crosswise I strain me like a Syrian bow:
Whence false and quaint, I know,

ters nor examine drawings for several months afterwards, except in the same attitude of looking upwards. I can myself bear full testimony to the effects of such work, having painted the ceilings of five large apartments in the Palace of Duke Cosimo; and if I had not made a seat with a support for the head, and occasionally laid down to my work, I should never have been able to finish them; as it was, I weakened my sight, and injured my head so much that I still feel the bad effects of that toil, and I wonder Michelagnolo endured it so well; but his zeal for his art increased daily, while the knowledge and improvement which he constantly perceived himself to make, encouraged him to such a degree that he grudged no labour, and was insensible to all fatigue.

The division of the work in the Chapel is after this manner:[120] There are five corbels on each side thereof, and one

> Must be the fruit of squinting brain and eye;
> For ill can aim the gun that aims awry.
> Come then, Giovanni, try
> To succour my dead pictures and my fame,
> Since foul I fare and painting is my shame."
>
> —Symonds's Translation.

In a letter (January 27, 1509) to his father, he says, with what M. Müntz has called sublime modesty, "I am still all perplexed, because for a year I have not received any money whatever from the pope; I don't ask him for anything because my work is not far enough advanced to seem to me worthy of payment. This is because of the difficulty of the work, and because such painting is not my profession; so I lose my time uselessly, God help me."

[120] The superficial area of the Sistine vaulting is, according to Symonds, about ten thousand square feet. The same critic says that there are three hundred and forty-three figures. This computation, however, includes the very tiny figures of the medallions and the smallest caryatides. Even in leaving these out there still remain some two hundred and twenty important figures, many of which are colossal. The distribution of these figures and subjects is as follows: First, the vaulting is round-arched and the Chapel has six windows on either side, two windows at one end and a clear wall (that of the Last Judgment) at the other end. The windows are round-arched, the spring of their arches beginning at the spring of the vaulting, and above each window there is a round-arched, flat surface cutting into the vaulting for some distance and connected with it by a *lunette*. In the clear arched space above these *lunettes*, that is to say, in the top of the vaulting, are the four large rectangular figure-subjects—the Creation of the Planets, the Creation of Man, the

on the wall at each end. On these are figures of the Prophets and Sibyls; and in the centre of the ceiling is the History of the World from the Creation to the Deluge, with the Inebriation of Noah. On the lunettes are the Genealogy of Christ. In these compartments Michelagnolo has used no perspective foreshortenings, nor has he determined any fixed point of sight; but has rather accommodated the division to the figures, than the figures to the division; he has been satisfied with imparting the perfection of design to all his forms whether nude or draped, and this he has done effectually, insomuch that a finer work never has been, and never can be executed; nor will it be without difficulty that its excellence shall be imitated.[121] Of a

Temptation and Fall, the Deluge; these four subjects come directly above the *lunettes*, corresponding in the vaulting to eight of the twelve windows in the wall. Alternating with the large rectangles are the five smaller rectangular subjects; these coming just above the lateral pendentives and beginning at the altar-end of the Chapel are the Creation of Light, the Creation of Land and Water, the Creation of Woman, the Sacrifice of Abraham (or Noah), the Drunkenness of Noah. The nine rectangular subjects of the vaulting are surrounded by a painted simulated cornice, and are separated from each other by painted simulated ribs of masonry; at the four corners of each smaller rectangle are seated four figures of naked young men, the famous "seated youths of Michelangelo." There are twenty of these youths, each pair holding ribbons which support medallions (ten in number), and each medallion containing a small figure-subject. The nine rectangular subjects, twenty seated youths, and ten medallions, therefore make up the central vaulting decoration of the Sistine Chapel, and they are framed by the simulated cornice. The space below this cornice is occupied by the pendentives, by the triangular *lunettes* over the windows, by the window-heads themselves, and the round-arched flat surfaces which enclose them. In each pendentive and attended by little genii is a seated Sibyl or Prophet; they number twelve in all, and are some eighteen feet high. Under each Prophet or Sibyl is a colossal infant caryatid, other caryatides in couples are painted upon simulated pilasters at either side of the main seated figures, and recumbent nude figures surmount the triangular *lunettes*. Four other figure-subjects fill the great *lunettes*, or "angle corbels," at the four corners of the Chapel; these are, the Stories of the Brazen Serpent, of Judith, of David and Goliath, and of Esther. In the flat surfaces around the window-heads, and in the triangular *lunettes* above them, are seated figures of men and women of the Old Testament representing the ancestors of the Virgin.

[121] If we consider it simply as a work of art nothing in the history of painting equals the boldness and the grandeur of this decoration in its entirety. If

truth, this Chapel, as thus painted by his hand, has been and is the very light of our art, and has done so much for the progress thereof, that it has sufficed to illumine the world, which had lain in darkness for so many hundreds of years.[122] Nay, no man who is a painter now cares to seek new inventions, attitudes, draperies, originality, and force of expression, or variety in the modes of representation,

we think of it as the intellectual conception and physical achievement of one man, it is equally tremendous. If we consider it only architectonically, and in reference to the principles and laws of decoration, a wholly different ground may be taken by the critic; here Michelangelo's painted architecture and arrangement, as Symonds has said, "bordered dangerously upon the barocco style, and contained within itself the germs of a vicious mannerism," but the arrangement is frankly chosen and frankly adhered to, and there is no loss of dignity anywhere from tricks of perspective foreshortening. Symonds, in his Michelangelo, I., p. 240, calls the simulated architecture which the sculptor needed in order that his seated figures might have pedestals, and his compositions might have frames, a design in the form of a "hypæthral temple suspended in the air on jutting pilasters, with bold cornices, projecting brackets, and ribbed arches flung across the void of heaven." It is hardly necessary to say that this whole arrangement is intensely arbitrary, this architecture rests upon nothing, and the spaces which Symonds designates as hypæthral openings showing the blue sky, have also painted compositions within them; again, purely decorative figures, such as the caryatides, have the same relief as the figures (Prophets, Sibyls, seated youths, etc.), which take part in the action. Such an arrangement could only be justified by a great success, and the justification is more than attained, since the result is so magnificent as to not only legitimize the means but to make the possession of the Sistine Chapel the crowning good fortune of Italy.

[122] The intellectual scheme of the decoration of the Sistine vaulting is worthy of its tremendous plastic realization. Symonds, who in his life of the sculptor approaches his subject from the literary point of view with peculiar felicity, says of the frescoes of the Sistine, that after unrolling the history of the creation of the world, and of man, the entrance of sin into the world and its punishment by the deluge, followed by the re-entrance of sin in Noah's own family, and having shown all this in the rectangles of the upper vaulting Michelangelo "intimated by means of four special mercies granted to the Jewish people" [the four histories painted in the angle pendentives] that redemption would follow repentance. He characterizes the Prophets and Sibyls as the "potent witnesses" to this promise, and adduces the figures from the Genealogy of the Virgin as an "appeal to history." Certain critics, however, in spite of names inscribed, assert that these last figures are simply decorative and intended to fill spaces and complete the artistic scheme without having special meaning. Michelet's explanation, see note 138, is certainly complicated, far-fetched, and unsatisfactory in spite of its poetic grandeur.

seeing that all the perfection which can be given to each of these requisites in a work of this character by the highest powers of art are presented to him here, and have been imparted to this work by Michelagnolo. Every beholder who can judge of such things, now stands amazed at the excellence of the figures, the perfection of the foreshortenings, the astonishing roundness of the outlines, and the grace and flexibility, with the beautiful truth of proportion, which are seen in the exquisite nude forms here exhibited; and the better to display the resources of his art, Michelagnolo has given them of every age, with varieties of expression and form as well as of countenance and features, some are more slender, others fuller; the beautiful attitudes also differ in all, some are seated, others are in motion, while others again are supporting festoons of oak-leaves and acorns, adopted as the impress and device of Pope Julius, and denoting that at that time, and under his government, there flourished the age of gold; seeing that Italy was not then in the condition of trouble and misery, which she has since endured. Between them the figures bear medallions in relief, to imitate bronze and gold, the subjects being stories taken from the Book of Kings.[123]

[123] For the close study of the actual surface of the Sistine vaulting in its present state, and the probable conditions which governed Michelangelo's execution of the frescoes and determined the time spent upon them, the work of Charles Heath Wilson is of great value, as by the courtesy of Monsignore, afterward Cardinal, Pacca, he was permitted to erect a movable scaffold, fifty-four feet high, from which to examine the surface of the vaulting. (See the Preface to the Author's Life and Works of Michelangelo Buonarroti.)

Heath Wilson has shown that the cartoons for the Sistine were pricked as to their outlines, and that these latter were pounced upon the vaulting surface; he has even found that Michelangelo, by turning his paper over, reversing it, that is to say, made one cartoon serve "for each pair of groups of children in chiaroscuro upon the piers," and also for "each pair of recumbent decorative figures between them." The stylus was occasionally, though rarely, used in tracing (as for instance in the case of the Adam); the plaster surface, made of Roman lime and marble dust, was originally quite white and very smooth. This surface is now cracked so completely that there is hardly an unbroken surface of two inches square; nevertheless the plaster, save for the cracking, is hard and solid. In a few places it has fallen away, nearly the whole figure of one of the "seated youths" having disappeared and been "clumsily filled in."

In addition to all this, and furthermore to display the perfection of his art as well as the greatness of God, Michelagnolo likewise depicted a story exhibiting the division of the Light from the Darkness.[124] The majesty of the Supreme Creator is displayed in the awful dignity of his attitude; self-sustained, He stands with extended arms, and a countenance at once expressive of power and love. The second picture, evincing admirable judgment and ability, portrays the Almighty when He creates the Sun and Moon. His figure is here supported by numerous Angels in the form of Children, and there is infinite power of art displayed in the foreshortening of the arms and legs. Next follows the Benediction of the earth, and the Creation of the animal races. Here the Creator is represented as a foreshortened figure on the ceiling, and this form appears to turn with you into whatever part of the Chapel you may proceed. The same figure recurs in the story of the divis-

(See the photographs of Alinari.) A washing with water mixed with some caustic preparation has done far more harm than the cracking, the color having in many places been eaten and destroyed, notably upon the face, shoulder, and arm of the prophet Daniel, and in different portions of the figures of the seated youths. Heath Wilson, by examination of the joints made where the fresh plaster for the current day's work bordered and touched the dried plaster of the day before, has estimated the rapidity of Michelangelo's work, he considers that the artist could in two working days paint a figure considerably over life-size. He believes that the Adam, in the Creation of Man, a figure which if erect would be ten feet in height, was painted in three days. The writer admits, in view of a photograph by Braun which seems to show one more joint than Mr. Wilson observed upon the surface, a possible fourth day's work. He notes that Michelangelo in these frescoes gave a good deal more time to the heads in each case than to the other parts of the figure, and he emphasizes the fact that later in life the artist acted upon a different system. Heath Wilson estimates that Michelangelo must have made some one hundred and thirteen working drawings (see note 104); this would exclude the subjects for the medallions.

[124] The vault is distributed into compartments of various shapes and sizes, by means of a simulated architecture with which each picture is framed. This architecture is not an accumulation of violently foreshortened fancies, having a single vanishing point, and consequently a single point of view, but each half of the nine great sections which span the vault has an independent vanishing point, as have also the pictures therein enclosed.—F. Crowninshield, Impressions of a Decorator in Rome, Scribner's Magazine for February, 1893.

ion of the Water from the Earth. Both are exceedingly beautiful, nay they are such, and of invention so perfect, that no hand but that of the most divine Michelagnolo could have been worthy to produce them.[125]

Then next comes the Creation of Adam.[126] God the Father being here borne by a group of Angels, represented by little boys of very tender age entirely nude; yet these appear to sustain the weight, not of one figure only, but of the whole world; so imposing is the majesty of that most venerable form, and such is the effect produced by the peculiar manner of the movement imparted thereto; one arm is thrown around certain of the children, as if he were supporting himself thereby, and the other is extended towards Adam, a figure of extraordinary beauty, whether as regards the outline or details, and of such character that one might believe it to have been just newly created by the great Father of all, rather than the mere production of the mind and pencil even of such a man as Michelagnolo. The Story beneath this is the Creation of our mother Eve;[127] and

[125] Such vast abstraction was indeed fit for Michelangelo alone among painters; each subject is the realization of a grand gesture, a colossal whirl of drapery.

[126] Perhaps the figure of Adam is, of all the painted creations of Michelangelo, the one which shows him at his very best, as having attained to the full measure of his grandeur, a measure distinctly surpassing that of the equally correct, though less noble, figures of the cartoon of the Battle of Pisa, but for all that a measure which as yet gives no hint of the decadence that some of the other figures of the Sistine, in spite of their vigor and beauty, do foreshadow.

Perkins, in his Raphael and Michelangelo, says: "If we were asked to point out the finest figure in the Sistine Chapel, we should unhesitatingly select the Adam, perhaps the grandest single figure to be met with in the whole range of modern art. . . . His attitude recalls that of the Theseus, and like it the Adam is the noblest abstract of form—an abstract less pure, less in accordance with the higher laws of sculpture than the Parthenon marble, but yet nearer to the Greek standard than any modern figure with which we are acquainted."

[127] For the resemblance of the Creation of Eve to the work by Jacopo della Quercia on the *façade* of San Petronio at Bologna, see the article by Mr. Claude Phillips, entitled The Plagiarisms of the Old Masters, Magazine of Art, XII., p. 257. This influence of Jacopo is far more striking than the often-cited example of Signorelli; not only the above-mentioned figures of San

herein are the two nude forms of our first parents, the one held captive in a sleep so profound that it resembles death, the other just awakened to the most animated life by the Benediction of God; and the pencil of this most admirable artist here has shown clearly, not only the difference between Sleep and wakeful vitality, but also the appearance of stability and firmness, which is presented, humanly speaking, by the Divine Majesty.

There next follows the Story of Adam, yielding to the persuasions of a figure, half woman and half serpent, and taking his death as well as our own in the forbidden fruit; he is furthermore exhibited in this picture as driven, with Eve, out of Paradise. And here, in the figure of the Angel, is displayed, with grandeur and dignity, the execution of the mandate pronounced by an incensed Deity; while in Adam we have regret for his fault, together with the fear of death; and in the woman that shame, abasement, and desire to obtain pardon, which are expressed by the compression of the arms, the clasping of the hands, the sinking of the head towards the bosom, and the turn of her imploring countenance towards the avenging Angel: all showing, likewise, that her fear of God's justice predominates over her hope in the Divine Mercy.

Petronio, the women with their hoods and head-cloths and grand draperies, but also the nudes, both in Bologna and the Library of Siena, and the women of Fonte Gaia remind one again and again of their mightier successors in the Sistina. There was in the work of Jacopo a rude force which was already heroic in the figures of the Siennese sculptor, and which became "*terribilità*" in Michelangelo. Disdainful as he was of other masters, Buonarroti sometimes praised as well as blamed, and paid tribute even to those who had gone before him by showing their influence upon his own thought. M. Müntz (*La Fin de la Renaissance*, p. 374, note 2), cites Herr Portheim, who mentions drawings in Vienna, Munich, and the Louvre, as proving the master's study of Giotto and Masaccio; M. Müntz emphasizes especially the influence of Donatello (in the Moses, the Madonna of Bruges, the St. George, the David, the Creation of Eve in the Sistine frescoes). He says, "Michelangelo took from him (Donatello) even the secret of his style, that art of making his figures vibrate, as if animated by an electric shock, of endowing the very draperies with passion and eloquence; in a word, that profound dramatic feeling, and that impression of feverish vitality which are distinctive signs of epochs which announce a new order of ideas."

Not less beautiful is the Story of the Sacrifice of Cain and Abel, wherein there are figures in great variety of attitudes; one brings wood, another is bent down and seeking to kindle the fire into flame by his breath, some are cutting up the victim; and these figures are painted with all the care and forethought which distinguish the others. Equally conspicuous are the art and judgment of the master in the Story of the Deluge; wherein there are numerous dead corpses mingled with other figures, all betraying the terrors inspired by the fearful events of those days, and seeking in various manners to escape with their lives. Among these heads are many, the expression of which proves them to be in despair of redeeming their days from destruction; fear, horror, and disregard of all around them are legibly impressed on their features. In others again, compassion is seen to prevail over their fears, and they are aiding each other to attain the summit of a rock, by means of which they hope to escape the coming floods. There is one figure in particular, which is labouring to save another, already half dead, and the action of which is so perfect, that Nature herself could show nothing more life-like.

Nor would it be easy adequately to describe the Story of Noah, lying inebriated before his sons, one of whom derides the helplessness of the Patriarch, while the other two throw their mantles over him;[128] this is a work of incomparable excellence; it could be surpassed by none but the master himself, and as if encouraged by what he there perceived himself to have accomplished, he subsequently prepared for yet greater efforts, proving his superiority in art, more than ever indisputably, by the figures of the five Sybils and seven

[128] The Sacrifice and Drunkenness of Noah and the Deluge are on a smaller scale than the other frescoes. Whether Michelangelo was dissatisfied with this scale or not cannot be known, though the fact that the scale changes supports this theory. Under ordinary circumstances such a man as Michelangelo would, if dissatisfied, have covered the offending frescoes with fresh plaster and repainted them, but in view of the pope's headlong hurry it would be unsafe to decide that the artist's having left them unchanged argued anything more than a relative satisfaction with them.

Prophets, each of which is more than five braccia high; the variety of attitude, the beauty of the draperies, and every other detail, in short, exhibits astonishing invention and judgment; nay, to those who comprehend the full significance of these figures, they appear little less than miraculous. The Prophet Jeremiah is seated with the lower limbs crossed, and holding the beard with one hand, the elbow of that arm being supported by the knee, while the other hand is laid on his lap: the head is bent down in a manner which indicates the grief, the cares, the conflicting thoughts, and the bitter regrets which assail the Prophet, as he reflects on the condition of his people. There is evidence of similar power in the two boys behind him; and in the first Sybil,[129] that nearest the door namely, in whom the artist has proposed to exhibit advanced age, and not content with enveloping the form in draperies, has been anxious to show that the blood has become frozen by Time, and has furthermore placed the book which she is reading very close to her eyes; by way of intimating that her power of sight is weakened by the same cause.

After the first Sybil follows the Prophet Ezekiel, a very old man, whose attitude is singularly noble and beautiful, he too is much wrapped in draperies, and holding a scroll of his prophecies in the one hand, he raises the other, and turns his head at the same time, as in the act of preparing to utter high and holy truths; behind him are two Boys, who hold his books. The Sybil following Ezekiel is in an attitude exactly opposite to that of the Erythræan Sybil first

[129] This is the Persica, which is near the altar-end. Nothing in the range of symbolism could have better suited the bent of Michelangelo's mind than the Sibyls, Heathen Prophetesses, Witnesses among the Gentiles (according to the belief of the Church) to the Promise of the Advent and to the Foretelling of Judgment:

"*Dies iræ, dies illa,*
*Solvet sæclum in favilla,*
*Teste David cum sibylla.*"

Besides the Libica, Cumea, Delfica, Persica, and Erythræa of the Sistine vaulting, the Hellespontine, Tiburtine, Samian, Cimmerian, Trojan, and Phrygian sibyls are named in old writers.

described,[130] she is holding her book at great distance, that is to say, and is about to turn a leaf; her limbs are crossed over each other, she is deeply pondering on what she is preparing to write, and a boy standing behind her is blowing at a brand of wood, with which he is about to light her lamp. The countenance of this figure has an expression of extraordinary beauty, the draperies and head dress are finely arranged, and the arms, which are of equal perfection with the rest of the person, are nude. Next to this Sybil is the Prophet Joel, who is profoundly absorbed in attention to a scroll which he holds in his hand, and is reading, with an expression of countenance which proves him to be perfectly satisfied with what he finds therein, and has all the effect that could be produced by the face of a living man, whose thoughts are firmly riveted on some question of moment.

Over the door of the Chapel is the aged Prophet Zacharias, who, seeking through the written page for something which he cannot find, remains with one foot lifted, and the other dropped down, while the anxiety and eagerness with which he seeks what he requires, and cannot discover, have caused him to forget the inconvenience of the painful attitude which he has taken. The figure has the aspect of a beautiful old age, the form is somewhat full, and the drapery, of few and simple folds, is admirably arranged. The Sybil[131] opposite to Zacharias, and turning towards the Altar, is putting forward certain writings, and with the boys her attendants deserves equal praise with those before described. But he who examines the Prophet Isaiah shall see features truly borrowed from nature herself, the real mother of art, one of the limbs is crossed over the other, he has laid one hand within a book, at the place where he has been reading, is resting the elbow of the other arm on the volume, and leaning his cheek on his hand, he replies to

[130] Or rather to the Persica just described; Vasari *now* describes the Erythræan Sibyl.

[131] The Delfica is next to Zacharias and opposite Joel.

the call on his attention, made by one of the boys standing behind him, by a mere turn of the head, without disturbing himself further. From this figure, at a word, the observer, who studies it well in every part, may acquire all the rules demanded to constitute the guiding precepts of a good painter. The Sybil[132] next to the Prophet Isaiah is of great age, but also of extraordinary beauty; her attitude, as she zealously studies the book before her, is singularly graceful, as are those of the boys who are ministering around her.

But not imagination herself could add anything to the beauty of a figure representing the Prophet Daniel, and which is that of a youth, who, writing in a great book, is copying certain passages from other writings, with indescribable eagerness of attention; the weight of the book is supported by a boy, who stands before the Prophet, and the beauty of that child is such that no pencil, by whatever hand it may be borne, will ever equal it. As much may be said for the Lybian Sybil,[133] who, having completed the writing of a large book taken from other volumes, is on the point of rising with a movement of feminine grace, and at the same time shows the intention of lifting and putting aside the book, a thing so difficult that it would certainly have proved impossible to any other than the master of this work.[134]

And what shall I say of the four pictures which adorn the

[132] This is the Cumæan Sibyl. If we compare her with the figure of the Adam in the vaulting above, and note her gigantic arm, we shall see the evidence of an evolution which was accomplishing itself in Michelangelo's ideal, even while he worked upon the frescoes of the Sistine.

[133] The Libica and Delfica will always, among the Sibyls of Michelangelo, divide the suffrages of the world for the pure beauty which he has here added to their power.

[134] Layard's Kugler (1891), II., p. 437, says of the naked figures which sit at the angles of the vaulting-compositions: "Too manly to be youths, too youthful to be men—without wings, without beards—equally distinct from modern character, or from reminiscences of the antique, these figures, like the Sibyls, are a new race. But though Michelangelo never stood more separately on his own feet than in the conception of these athletes, they are the portion of the ceiling to which the least justice has hitherto been done."

angles of the Corbels on this ceiling ?[135] In the first is David, exerting all his boyish force in the conquest of the gigantic Philistine, and depriving him of his head, to the utter amazement of numerous Soldiers, who are seen around the Camp. Equally beautiful are the attitudes in the picture of Judith, which occupies the opposite angle, and wherein there is the lifeless body of Holofernes, so recently decapitated that it seems yet to palpitate with life. Judith meanwhile is placing the head of the General in a basket, which is borne by an old servant, on her head. The handmaid is tall of stature, and is stooping to facilitate the due arrangement of her burden by the hands of her mistress. She is endeavouring at the same time to uphold, and also to conceal, what she bears, being impelled to the last-mentioned act, by the sound arising in the tent from the body of Holofernes, which although dead, has drawn up an arm and a leg, thereby causing the sound in question. The face of the servant betrays her fear of some one entering from the Camp, as well as the terror caused her by the dead body, a picture which is certainly most remarkable.

But more beautiful and more divine than even this, or indeed than any of those yet described, is the Story of the Serpents of Moses, which Michelagnolo has placed above the left side of the Altar, and wherein there are represented the dropping of the Serpents on the people, their stings and the bites they inflict, as is also that Serpent of Brass, which Moses himself erected on a staff. In this picture the different modes in which death seizes the sufferers is rendered vividly apparent, many of those not yet dead are obviously hopeless of recovery ; others die convulsed with the fear and horror which that acrid venom has caused them. Many are throwing up their arms in agony ;

[135] The four subjects represent the deliverances of the Jewish nation. For a discussion of their meaning when taken in connection with the frescoes of the vault, see Sir Charles Eastlake, The Schools of Painting in Italy (Kugler), second edition, London, 1851, II., p. 313. These angle-pictures are less impressive as *ensembles* than are many other portions of the vaulting, but some of the figures taken singly have great beauty and power.

some appear to be paralysed: unable to move, they await their coming doom; and in other parts are beautiful heads, giving utterance to the cries of desperation, and cast backwards in the horrors of hopeless anguish.

Those who, looking towards the Serpent erected by Moses, perceive their pains to be alleviated, are also admirably depicted. They turn their eyes on their deliverer with infinite emotion, and one of these groups may more particularly be specified, that of a Woman namely, supported by one who sustains her in such a manner that the effectual assistance rendered by him who gives aid is no less manifest than is the pressing need of her who endures that fear and pain. The story of Ahasuerus, reclining in his bed and causing the Chronicles to be read, has equal merit. The figures are very fine, and among them are three men, seated at a table eating, who represent the deliberation of those who sought to free the Jewish people, and to compass the death of Haman. The figure of the latter is likewise seen foreshortened in a very extraordinary manner;[136] the stake which supports his person, and the arm which he stretches before him appearing not to be painted, but really round, and in relief, as does also the leg, which he projects outward, and the portions of the body which are bent inward. This is indeed a figure which, among all beautiful and difficult ones, is certainly the most beautiful and most difficult.[137]

[136] For an admirable consideration of the purely decorative and architectonic qualities of the paintings of the Sistine Chapel see Mr. Frederic Crowninshield, Impressions of a Decorator in Rome, Scribner's Magazine, February, 1893. After his consideration of the scheme of the *quattrocento* painter and his statement that the "godlike, impulsive, devil-may-take-the-rest Florentine considerably disturbed the equilibrium," Mr. Crowninshield goes on to give an excellent analysis of many points of scale, tone, effect of light, and perspective.

[137] Charles Blanc (*L'Œuvre et la Vie*, pp. 11, 12) says that only Leonardo, and he in quite a different way, could sustain comparison with Michelangelo as draughtsman, and that if placed beside the latter "even Raphael when he does not imitate him is only a graceful adolescent, Correggio a feminine genius, Andrea del Sarto an exquisite pupil, Bandinelli a rhetor, and Rembrandt a sublime ragamuffin (*va-nu-pieds*)." It is difficult to see why the critic should have weakened his series by the introduction of Bandinelli!

But it would lead me too far were I to describe all the admirable compositions to be admired in these stories.[138] The Genealogy of the Patriarchs, for example, commencing with the sons of Noah, for the purpose of showing the descent of Our Saviour Christ, and in which we have an indescribable variety of figures, vestments, expressions, and phantasies of various kinds, original as well as beautiful. All bear the impress of genius, many of the figures exhibit the most remarkable foreshortenings, and every one of the details is most admirable. Who could behold without astonishment the powerful figure of Josiah,* which is the last in the chapel, and where, by the force of art, the vaulting, which in fact does here spring forward, is compelled, by the bending attitude of that figure, to assume the appearance of being driven backwards and standing upright? such is the knowledge of design here displayed. Oh, truly fortunate age, and thrice happy artists! Well may I call you so, since in your day you have been permitted to dispel the darkness of your eyes by the light of so illustrious a luminary, and behold all that was difficult rendered clear to you by so wonderful and admirable a master! The renown of *his* labours renders *you* also known, and increases your honour, the rather, as his hand has removed that bandage which

* Not Josiah but Jonah.

[138] Michelet, in *L'Histoire de France*, devotes to Michelangelo a chapter which, like so many other passages of his great history, is full of profound thought and splendid imagery; nevertheless it is obscure, confusing, and one cannot help thinking that the historian has read into the artist's scheme a special meaning which Michelangelo never intended; but the descriptive passages are admirable; the following is one of them: "Seeing on all sides these terrible forces one does not know whom first to listen to, nor from whom to ask an explanation, the gigantic creatures are so intently absorbed that one does not dare to address them. Ezekiel is engaged in a furious dispute; Daniel copies, copies without stopping even to breathe; the Lybica is about to rise from her seat; Zachariah, aged and bold, in his eagerness to read is unaware of the fatiguing attitude which he has taken; the Persica . . . wears out her eager eyes over a little book written in illegible characters. She doubtless reads late into the night, for I see beside her the beautiful Erythræa, who has relighted her smouldering fire and trimmed her lamp, that she may write. Studious and learned Sibyls, ye belong to the sixteenth century. The youngest, the Delfica, who thunders from her tripod, is the only antique one among you."

you had before the eyes of your minds, previously full of darkness, and has delivered the truth from that falsehood which was over-shadowing your intellect. Be thankful to Heaven therefore, and strive to imitate Michelagnolo in all things.[139]

When this work was completed,[140] all the world hastened

[139] The frescoes of the Sistina, like the *Pietà*, the Moses, or the statues of San Lorenzo (perhaps even more than these latter), mark the point of his life where Michelangelo's artistic powers were in perfect equilibrium. Professor Sidney Colvin, in the Encyclopædia Britannica says of the work executed in the Chapel: "In a word, his sublimity, often in excess of the occasion, is here no more than equal to it, moreover, it is combined with the noblest elements of grace and even of tenderness, . . . whatever the soul of this great Florentine, the spiritual heir of Dante, with the Christianity of the middle ages not shaken in his mind, but expanded and transcendentalized by the knowledge and love of Plato . . . contained, Michelangelo has expressed or shadowed forth in this great and significant scheme of paintings." Symonds says well (*op. cit.*, I., p. 205), that imagination quails before the intellectual energy which could conceive and carry out this work. For special works upon the Sistine frescoes see W. Henke, *Empirische Betrachtungen über die Malereien von Michelangelo am Rande der Decke in der sixtinischen Kapelle*, *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, VII. (1886), pp. 3, 82, 140; *Zur Deckenmalerei Michelangelo's in der sixtinischen Kapelle*, by G. Warnecke, *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, N. F., II., p. 300; H. Wolfflin, *Die sixtinische Decke Michelangelo's*, in the *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XIII., *Heft* IV. F. Kühlen, *Die Capella Sistina*, *Kunstblatt*, 1844, No. 105. A. Higgins, The Academy, London, October 9, 1875 (on the fresco the Creation of Adam), M. W. Scott, same review and subject, September 18, and October 30, 1875. For the more important drawings for the Sistina, see Anton Springer, *Raffael und Michelangelo*, I., p. 192, note.

[140] There has been much controversy regarding the time occupied in painting the Sistine vaulting, much discussion of Michelangelo's own statement that he commenced the work on May 10, 1508. He was still in Florence on March 18th, and different writers have adduced the preparation of the plaster, above all the making of the working sketches, and many other details, as rendering it wholly impossible that Michelangelo should have commenced to paint upon the vaulting only two months after we hear of him as in Florence. Symonds is undoubtedly right in believing that the words, "I begin to work to-day," mean simply that on May 10th, having just signed his contract, the artist began to in every way practically consider the problem before him. Nevertheless it is a mistake to bring forward the *preparation of the series of working drawings* as an obstacle to his having begun in May, because one or two finished working drawings would have sufficed to begin upon; the series would have been prepared gradually and in accordance with the progress of the general work. It is quite possible that he began with his decora-

from every part to behold it, and having done so, they remained astonished and speechless. The Pope rewarded Michelagnolo with rich gifts, and was encouraged by the success of this undertaking to project still greater works; wherefore, the artist would sometimes remark, in respect to

tion including the Twelve Apostles, and that Bramante's scaffold served only for this first, and afterward abandoned, scheme, but it is equally possible, all things considered, that Michelangelo decided against this scheme of decoration while he was still only making the drawings and before he had touched the plaster. It is exceedingly improbable that he made a series of great working drawings of all or most of his figures before beginning to paint upon the vaulting, though it is practically certain that he prepared one good-sized *rough* drawing of the whole vaulting decoration, or at any rate of the whole centre, before he touched the plaster, and that his *thought* existed in its entirety upon paper before he began to transfer any of it to the walls. After this general composition he undoubtedly completed a full-sized working drawing of one of the rectangular vaulting-compositions, in order to try the scale of his figures. A second full-sized drawing of one of the naked seated youths would have been required (also for purposes of scale), and it is probable that Michelangelo found it convenient to have a second rectangular composition drawn in a full-sized cartoon in order that it might be nailed by the side of the first, and a comparison of scale and general relations made between two important compositions. When these drawings were satisfactorily completed the artist would have been ready to commence upon the plaster had he wished. When once Michelangelo had his rough composition of the whole decoration, his rough memoranda of the movements of the figures and their relations to each other he had enough for a basis and it becomes unreasonable that he should have finished some one hundred and thirteen great working cartoons before beginning with the color, because an occasional change from composition to execution, and from drawing to the handling of color, is a refreshment to brain and hand alike, and it is improbable that the artist neglected this opportunity. Heath Wilson has noted that there were long intervals when Michelangelo did not work upon the vaulting, and considers these to have been intervals of physical repose. It would seem more probable that they were given to the preparation of other carefully *finished* drawings on paper (to be transferred to the plaster) of such portions as existed already in the rough in his first and general composition, without elaboration of modelling or outline.

We now come to the question of Michelangelo's having worked without assistants. Heath Wilson was the first one to combat the old idea that Michelangelo worked absolutely alone. The statement of Vasari and Condivi is absolutely explicit, and yet there seems little for us to do but to reject it. Let us take the best arguments in favor of it: we know from the testimony of Vigenero that Michelangelo was not only one of the greatest artists but one of the most energetic and rapid workers who ever lived, also we know that he was so different from other men as to be incapable of collaboration. Again, if the

the extraordinary favours conferred on him, that he saw well the Pope did esteem his abilities, and if he should now and then inflict some rudeness by a peculiar way of proving his amicable feeling towards him, yet he always cured the wound by gifts and distinguished favours. On one occasion, for example, when Michelagnolo requested leave from his Holiness to pass the festival of San Giovanni in Florence, and begged also to have some money for that purpose, Pope Julius said, "Well! but when will this chapel be finished?" "When I can, Holy Father," replied our artist, and the Pope, who had a staff in his hand, struck Michelagnolo therewith, exclaiming, "When I can—when I can! I'll make thee finish it, and quickly, as thou shalt see." But the master had scarcely returned to his house to prepare for

drawings for the second half of the Sistine frescoes were ready, Michelangelo may have by himself completed this *second half* in twenty months. As to "the help of a man to grind his colors," it should be noted here that a very exaggerated impression prevails as to the amount of pigment used in decoration; in fresco-painting a very little color would go a long way even upon so vast a surface as that of the Sistine vaulting. But in spite of all which militates in favor of Michelangelo as sole executant, on the other hand, there remained the enlarging of the small drawings by squares drawn upon the paper, the pricking of outlines, the fastening of the cartoons to the surface, the pouncing with dark powder of all the pricked lines, the drawing and painting of all the lettering in the inscriptions, and of all the architectural mouldings. It is possible for one man to fasten large cartoons to a vaulting surface, but it is difficult, and to imagine Michelangelo doing this, or above all to think of him as measuring thousands of squares and pricking endless outlines is to think of him as wasting priceless time on what could be equally well done by others. It is probable that his assistants made all the squares for enlarging and very slightly drew in the figures, and that Michelangelo then passed over and corrected every outline. Heath Wilson is indeed convinced that he saw in many places upon the vaulting the actual painted work of these assistants.

Vasari's story in all likelihood grows from his desire to show that Michelangelo was unwilling to allow (as Raphael did) other men to interpose themselves between his thought and the work, and thus to lessen the power of the former, and although a vast amount of mechanical assistance was undoubtedly given to Buonarroti, we may believe that in view of his temperament no real art-collaboration *existed* in the Sistine Chapel, and that Michelangelo was personally responsible for every completed line of his figure work. Vasari says elsewhere that Michelangelo used precautions to guard against the treason of his workmen; but advocates of the theory that the artist had no helpers may very possibly have considered these workmen as plasterers and carpenters.

his journey to Florence, before the Pontiff sent Cursio,[141] his chamberlain, with five hundred crowns to pacify him, having some fear lest Michelagnolo should play him a prank, as he did before. The chamberlain excused Pope Julius moreover, declaring that these things must all be considered favours and marks of kindness; and as Michelagnolo knew the disposition of the Pontiff, and was, after all, much attached to His Holiness, he laughed at what had happened, the more readily as things of this kind always turned to his profit, and he saw well that the Pope did his utmost to retain him as his friend.

The Chapel being finished, Pope Julius, before he felt the approaches of death, commanded the Cardinals Santi Quattro and Aginense, his nephews,[142] to see that his Tomb (when he died) should be constructed after a simpler design than that at first adopted. And now Michelagnolo set himself anew to the work of that sepulchre with all the better will, as he hoped at length to bring it to a conclusion, unimpeded by those fatiguing obstacles which had hitherto assailed him; but he was tormented, on the contrary, with unceasing vexations and turmoils in that matter, which cost him more labour and trouble than any other work of his whole life; nay, for some time it caused him to be charged with ingratitude towards that Pontiff by whom he had been so highly valued and favoured. Having returned to the chapel, Michelagnolo worked at it continually, and arranged a part of the designs for the fronts of the fabric, but envious Fortune would not permit this monument to have a conclusion in harmony with the magnificence of its commencement. Pope Julius died,[143] and on the creation of Pope Leo[144]

[141] Accursio rather, as Condivi more properly calls him.

[142] By Cardinal Santi Quattro he probably means Lorenzo Pucci, afterward cardinal under Leo X. Aginense was Leonardo Grosso della Rovere, Bishop of Agen, Milanesi, VII., p. 187, note 2. The title of Santi Quattro came from the Church (in Rome) of the "Four Crowned Saints," who were martyred in the fourth century.

[143] In February, 1513.

[144] March 11, 1513.

that work was laid aside, for this Pontiff, no less enterprising and splendid in his undertakings than Julius, was anxious to leave in his native city of Florence, of which he was the first Pope, some great memorial of himself, and of that divine artist who was his fellow-citizen. At a word, he desired to complete some one of those admirable constructions which only a great prince, such as he was, can attempt; and as he therefore commissioned Michelagnolo to execute the façade of the Church of San Lorenzo in Florence, which had been built by the House of Medici, the Tomb of Pope Julius was of necessity left unfinished, Leo not contenting himself with the counsels or even the designs of Michelagnolo, but requiring him to act as superintendent of the works. Yet the master did not yield without such resistance as was possible to him, alleging his engagements with the Cardinals Santi Quattro and Aginense, to whom he was already pledged in respect of the Tomb; but His Holiness replied that he was not to think of them, he (the Holy Father) having provided for that matter, and in effect he did procure the release of Michelagnolo by those prelates, promising them that he should continue his preparations for the Sepulchre, by working at the figures destined for it in Florence, as he had previously done. All this was, nevertheless, much to the dissatisfaction of the Cardinals, as well as Michelagnolo, who left Rome with tears in his eyes.[145]

[145] C. C. Perkins says: "Leo X. visited Florence in 1514 and solicited designs for the *façade* of the church from Baccio d'Agnolo, Giuliano da San Gallo, Andrea and Jacopo Sansovino, Raphael, and Michelangelo, the most distinguished architects of the day. Why the latter, who was no practical architect, did not decline to compete if he really wished to be left undisturbed, we cannot understand, for he must have foreseen that if his design was accepted he would be called upon to carry it out. We cannot then pity him for the embarrassing position in which he found himself when this happened." In support of Perkins's remarks it may be said that it was quite extraordinary that Leo should give the work to a man who had never built an important architectural monument, unless that man was willing to undertake it. If Leo really forced the commission upon him simply to temporarily banish from Rome a man whose powerful personality was unsympathetic and even made the Pope ill at ease, but who nevertheless had not offended Leo in any way, we must admit that the machinations of rivals may have had much

Much talk, nay innumerable discussions, arose on the subject of the works to be executed in Florence also, seeing that an undertaking like that of the Façade of San Lorenzo[146] ought certainly to have been divided among many persons; in regard to the architecture more especially, several artists repaired to Rome, applying to the Pope for the direction thereof. Baccio d'Agnolo, Antonio da San Gallo,[147] Andrea and Jacopo Sansovino, with the graceful Raffaelo da Urbino, having all made designs for that building: the latter did indeed afterwards visit Florence for a similar purpose.

But Michelagnolo determined to prepare the model himself, and not to accept any guide, or permit any superior in the matter of the architecture:[148] this refusal of all aid was nevertheless the occasion of such delays that neither by himself nor by others was the work put into operation, and the masters above-named returned, hopeless of a satisfactory conclusion, to their accustomed avocations. Michelagnolo then repaired to Carrara, but first he was empowered to receive a thousand crowns from Jacopo Salviati, and presented himself for that purpose accordingly. Now it chanced that Jacopo was at that moment shut up in his room, engaged on matters of importance with certain of the citizens, but Michelagnolo would not wait for an audience, and departed, without saying a word, for Carrara. Hearing of the mas-

to do with the whole affair. If Leo's eagerness arose simply from the fact that Michelangelo was a Florentine and a *protégé* of the Medici, then it is difficult to believe that he should have pushed the matter so hard if the whole enterprise was antipathetic to Buonarroti, since San Gallo and others, good architects and good servants of the Casa Medici, were at hand and anxious to be employed.

[146] San Lorenzo was built by Filippo Brunelleschi, see his life on page 287 of Volume I. of this work. The *façade* is still unfinished.

[147] Giuliano da San Gallo rather, Baccio d'Agnolo is said, in the life of Sansovino, to have only executed a model from a design by the latter.

[148] This was Michelangelo's first architectural work. No part of his scheme for the *façade* was ever executed, and even the design (1513) that he adopted is unidentified. There is a model in the Academy of Florence which is ascribed to Baccio d'Agnolo, this may be the one referred to here, see also note 147. There are drawings in the Uffizi and the Casa Buonarroti which are supposed to relate to the project for San Lorenzo.

ter's arrival in Florence, but not seeing him, Salviati sent the thousand crowns after him to Carrara, the messenger requiring that a receipt should be given to him. But Michelagnolo replied, that the money was for expenses on the Pope's account and not his own, adding that the messenger might carry it back if he chose to do so, but that he, Michelagnolo, was not in the habit of giving receipts and acquittances for others; whereupon the man became alarmed, and returned to Jacopo Salviati without any receipt.

While Michelagnolo was at Carrara, where he was causing marbles to be excavated for the tomb of Pope Julius, which he proposed ultimately to complete, as well as for the façade of San Lorenzo, he received from Pope Leo a letter to the effect that there were marbles, of equal beauty and excellence with those of Carrara, to be found in the Florentine dominions, at Serravezza namely, on the summit of the highest mountain in the Pietra Santa, called Monte Altissimo.[149] Now Michelagnolo was already aware of that circumstance; but it seems he would not attend to it, perhaps because he was the friend of the Marchese Alberigo, Lord of Carrara, or it might have been because he thought the great distance to be passed over would cause loss of time, as indeed it did.[150] He was nevertheless compelled to go to Serravezza, although protesting that the difficulty and expense would be greatly increased thereby, as proved to be the case in the beginning. But the Pope would not hear a

[149] The quarries on Monte Altissimo have been reopened after having been abandoned for a long time. Pietra Santa was the name of a *castello* important among the military strongholds of Tuscany.

[150] The Marchese Malaspina, Lord of Massa and Carrara, looked with jealous eyes at the opening of the Serravezza quarries, as he derived a considerable revenue from the quarries at Carrara. On this account many obstacles were thrown in the way of Michelangelo, and the Carrarese workmen were excited against him. For details of his life at Serravezza, see Heath Wilson, also Symonds, *op. cit.*, I., pp. 329–344. M. de Montaiglon, in *L'Œuvre et la Vie*, cites, as referring to Michelangelo's visits to Carrara, Frediani, *Ragionamento*, etc. Massa, 1837; Santini, *Commentarii* (Vol. V., pp. 216–299), Pisa, 1858–63; Tofanelli, *La Lunigiana e le Alpi Apuane*, Florence, 1870.

word of objection. A road had then to be constructed for many miles through the mountains, and for this rocks were to be hewn away, while it was needful to drive piles, in marshy places, many of which intervened. Michelagnolo thus lost several years in fulfilling the Pope's desire; but finally he procured five columns of fine proportion from these quarries, one of them being now on the Piazza of San Lorenzo, in Florence, the others lie on the shore.[151] Another result of the matter was to make the Marchese Alberigo a bitter enemy of Michelagnolo, although the latter was so little to blame.

Other marbles, besides the columns above-named, were subsequently procured at Serravezza, where they have been now lying more than thirty years; but Duke Cosimo has given orders for the completion of the road, of which there are still two miles to make, over ground very difficult to manage, when the transport of marbles is in question; but there is also another quarry, which was discovered at that time by Michelagnolo, and which yields excellent marble, proper for the completion of many a noble undertaking. He has likewise found a mountain of excessively hard and very beautiful vari-coloured marble in the same place of Serravezza, and situate beneath Stazema, a villa constructed amidst those hills, where Duke Cosimo has formed a paved road more than four miles long, for the purpose of bringing the marbles to the sea-shore.

But to return to Michelagnolo, who had now again repaired to Florence. Losing much time, first in one thing and then in another, he made a model, among other things, for those projecting and grated windows with which are furnished the rooms at the angle of the Palace, in one of which Giovanni da Udine executed the paintings and stucco-work which are so much and so deservedly extolled. He also caused blinds, in perforated copper, to be made by the goldsmith Piloto, but after his own designs, and very

[151] Six columns were taken from the quarries at Serravezza. Four were broken *en route*. One is at La Vincarella and one is at Florence.

admirable they certainly are.[152] Michelagnolo consumed many years, as we have said, in the excavation of marbles;[153] it is true that he prepared models in wax and other requisites for the great undertakings with which he was engaged at the same time, but the execution of these was delayed until the monies, appropriated by the Pontiff for that purpose, had been expended in the wars of Lombardy; and at the death of Leo the works thus remained incomplete, nothing having been accomplished but the foundations of the Façade, and the transport of a great column from Carrara to the Piazza di San Lorenzo.

The death of Pope Leo X.[154] completely astounded the arts and artists, both in Rome and Florence; and while Adrian VI. ruled, Michelagnolo employed himself in the last-named city with the Sepulchre of Julius. But when Adrian was dead,[155] and Clement VII. elected in his place,[156] the latter proved himself equally desirous of establishing memorials to his fame in the arts of sculpture, painting, and architecture, as had been Leo and his other predecessors. It was at this time, 1525,[157] that Giorgio Vasari, then a boy, was taken to Florence by the Cardinal of Cortona,[158] and there placed to study art with Michelagnolo; but the latter having been summoned to Rome by Pope Clement, who had commenced the Library of San Lorenzo; with the New Sacristy, wherein he proposed to erect the marble tombs of his forefathers, it was determined that Giorgio should go to Andrea del Sarto, before Michelagnolo's departure; the master himself repairing to the workshop of Andrea, for the purpose of recommending the boy to his care.

[152] These blinds have disappeared. The goldsmith Piloto was a friend of Perino del Vaga, and Vasari refers to him also in the life of that artist.

[153] It has been suggested that the Madonna of Bruges, as well as some other works, may have been executed wholly or in part during these visits to the quarries.

[154] December 1, 1521.

[155] September 23, 1523.

[156] November 19, 1523.

[157] In his own biography Vasari gives the date more correctly as 1524.

[158] Silvio Passerini.

Michelagnolo then proceeded to Rome without delay, being much harassed by the repeated remonstrances of Francesco Maria, Duke of Urbino, who complained of the artist greatly: saying that he had received sixteen thousand crowns for the Tomb, yet was loitering for his own pleasure in Florence without completing the same: he added threats, to the effect that if Michelagnolo did not finish his work, he, the Duke, would bring him to an evil end. Arrived in Rome, Pope Clement, who would gladly have had the master's time at his own command, advised him to require the regulation of his accounts from the agents of the Duke, when it seemed probable that they would be found his debtors, rather than he theirs. Thus then did that matter remain; but the Pope and Michelagnolo taking counsel together of other affairs, it was agreed between them that the Sacristy and New Library [159] of San Lorenzo in Florence should be entirely completed.

The master thereupon, leaving Rome, returned to Florence, and there erected the Cupola which we now see, and which he caused to be constructed in various orders.[160] He then made the Goldsmith Piloto prepare a very beautiful ball of seventy-two facettes. While he was erecting his cupola, certain of his friends remarked to him that he must be careful to have his lantern very different from that of Filippo Brunelleschi: to which Michelagnolo replied, "I can make a different one easily; but as to making a better, that I cannot do." He decorated the inside of the Sacristy with four Tombs,[161] to enclose the remains of the fathers of

[159] For a description of the modified plans of the Tomb and the details of the terms of the various contracts which Michelangelo made with the heirs of Pope Julius, see Symonds's Life of Michelangelo, I., pp. 131, 135, 139, 144, 320, 376; II., pp. 69, 73, and E. Guillaume, *Michel-Ange Sculpteur*, in *L'Œuvre et la Vie*, pp. 72–76. See also note 79 in this life.

[160] The cupola of the Sacristy of San Lorenzo (see Milanesi, VII., p. 192, note 2); Michelangelo wrote to Clement, in 1524, that Stefano di Tommaso had put up the lantern.

[161] The four Tombs were planned, but only two were completed. When Michelangelo went to Carrara to get marbles to build the Medici Chapel and

the two Popes, Lorenzo the elder and Giuliano his brother, with those of Giuliano the brother of Leo, and of Lorenzo his nephew. Desiring to imitate the old Sacristy by Filippo Brunelleschi, but with new ornaments, he composed a decoration of a richer and more varied character than had ever before been adopted, either by ancient or modern masters: the beautiful cornices, the capitals, the bases, the doors, the niches, and the tombs themselves, were all very different from those in common use, and from what was considered measure, rule, and order, by Vitruvius and the ancients, to whose rules he would not restrict himself. But this boldness on his part has encouraged other artists to an injudicious imitation, and new fancies are continually seen, many of which belong to *grottesche* rather than to the wholesome rules of ornamentation.[162]

Artists are nevertheless under great obligations to Michelagnolo, seeing that he has thus broken the barriers and chains whereby they were perpetually compelled to walk in a beaten path, while he still more effectually completed this liberation and made known his own views, in the Library of San Lorenzo, erected at the same place.[163] The admirable

monuments, he made his tenth and last journey to the quarries, which he had visited for the first time in 1505, while he was in the service of Julius II.

[162] Symonds sees (*op. cit.*, II., p. 9) in this unusually incoherent passage of Vasari the expression of the "advent of Barocco mannerism."

[163] The Laurentian Library is one of the architectural works of Michelangelo which has been most criticised. Garnier does not even give it a share of his consideration in *L'Œuvre et la Vie*; but Symonds, *op. cit.*, has many pages concerning it, and while admitting that, in spite of its faults, there is a certain impressiveness of effect, he goes on to say that Michelanglo's substructure in such buildings as the Laurentian Library may be a box, a barn, an inverted bottle, he makes this inert mass as substantial as possible, then uses it as a pretext for a "scenic scheme of panelling for empty walls," which has superseded the earlier "conscientious striving to construct a living and intelligible whole" The author adds that it never seems to have occurred to Michelangelo that the mouldings, etc., to windows and doors, which latter are intended really as means of exit, or for entrance of light, or people, could not be with "propriety applied to the covering of blank, dead spaces" in interiors.

The elaborate floor of the library is by Tribolo. The carved ceiling was executed by Carrota and Tasso. The seats and desks were carved by the same artists, assisted by Battista del Cinque and Ciapino. The admirable

distribution of the windows, the construction of the ceiling, and the fine entrance of the Vestibule, can never be sufficiently extolled. Boldness and grace are equally conspicuous in the work as a whole, and in every part; in the cornices, corbels, the niches for statues, the commodious staircase, and its fanciful divisions—in all the building, at a word, which is so unlike the common fashion of treatment, that every one stands amazed at the sight thereof.

About this time Michelagnolo sent his disciple, Pietro Urbano of Pistoja, to Rome, there to execute a figure of Christ on the Cross,* which is indeed a most admirable work: it was afterwards erected beside the principal Chapel in the Minerva by M. Antonio Metelli.[164]

Then followed the Sack of Rome[165] and the exile of the Medici from Florence: and in this change, those who governed the City resolving to rebuild the fortifica-

glass windows are sometimes attributed to Giovanni da Udine, but it is very doubtful if he had anything to do with them. For Charles Garnier's appreciation of Michelangelo as architect, see notes at end of this biography.

* Read Christ holding the Cross.

[164] The statue is still in S. Maria sopra Minerva. It is on the left of the high altar, and is disfigured by brass drapery and a brass shoe. The work was ordered in 1514, and was erected in 1521. Michelangelo was interrupted in working on it, and confided its final execution to Pietro Urbano, but the latter acquitted himself so badly that the finishing of it was given to Federigo Frizzi. To many admirers of Michelangelo this statue will remain the least satisfactory of his works; it is reassuring to recognize that the almost unpleasant elegance of features, wholly in discord with the muscular body, is not due to the great sculptor, and the reader, with inward satisfaction, re-echoes Sebastian del Piombo's reflections in a letter to Michelangelo upon the clumsy executant who had botched the master's design. On the other hand, Burckhardt, *Le Cicerone*, 1892, p. 457, finds that although the head does not resemble our ideal of a Christ, it is fine in sentiment. The contract for the original work was made with Bernardo Cencio, Mario Scappucci, and Metello Vari (see *L'Œuvre et la Vie*, p. 262). Vari was a warm friend of Michelangelo, and the sculptor offered to do it over again, but the offer was not accepted; indeed the Christ seems to have become famous in its time, and Francis I. had it cast for a bronze copy.

[165] In 1527; for interesting details see Cellini's Autobiography, Symonds's version; and also *Le Sac de Rome, par Jacques Buonaparte, gentilhomme de San Miniato*, translated from the Italian by Prince Napoléon Louis Bonaparte, and published in the volume for 1836 of the *Choix de Chroniques*, etc., Paris.

tions, made Michelagnolo Controller-general* of the whole work.[166]

In that capacity he prepared numerous designs, adding much to the defences of the city, and more especially surrounding the hill of San Miniato with bastions: these he did not form in the usual manner, of turf, wood, and bundles of faggots, but first constructed a basement of oak, chestnut, and other strong materials, using rough bricks very carefully levelled: he had previously been despatched by the Signoria of Florence to Ferrara, there to inspect the fortifications of artillery and munitions of Duke Alfonso I.,[167] when he received many proofs of favour from that Noble, who begged the master to execute some work for him at his leisure; which Michelagnolo promised to do.

Having returned to Florence, he proceeded with the fortifications of the city, and although impeded by numerous engagements, he yet contrived to paint the picture of a Leda for the Duke of Ferrara. This work, which was in tempera, proved to be a divine performance, as will be related in due time.[168] He also continued secretly to labour at the Statues for the Tombs in San Lorenzo.[169] Michelagnolo remained

* Mrs. Foster translated *commessario-generale*, commissary-general, but in view of its modern sense this term would not be understood, and controller-general has been substituted; *commessario* is one who is commissioned or made executor.

[166] Michelangelo was appointed to a place on the *Nove di Milizia* in 1529. The general scheme of fortifying Florence was confided to him.

[167] The Duke was the greatest authority on fortification in Italy.

[168] See note 189.

[169] The statement that Michelangelo worked upon the figures for the Tombs of San Lorenzo, that is to say, for the Medicean tyrants, at the very time when he was fortifying for the Florentine Republic, is considered by Heath Wilson to be a "slanderous statement" of Vasari. But the figures of Night and Morning, Dawn and Twilight are absolutely impersonal, it was to the Art that was in these recumbent giants, and not to the memory of the Medici Dukes, that Michelangelo was devoted; if the Republic had triumphed the recumbent figures would still have been valuable and useful to it as works of art. Michelangelo wished his statues to live; these figures, with their solemn, abstract meaning, could neither hinder nor directly glorify either party, and it was not unnatural that Michelangelo, returning from the fatigues and dangers of the walls, should have seen in his creations that which would

about six months at San Miniato, hastening forward the defences of the Heights, seeing that the city would have been lost, had the enemy made himself master of that point;[170] he consequently devoted the most zealous attention to the works. The before-mentioned Sacristy was also making progress, and Michelagnolo occupied a portion of his time in the execution of seven Statues for that place, some of which he completed wholly, others only in part. In these, as well as in the architecture of the Tombs,[171] all are compelled to admit that he has surpassed every artist in all the three vocations. Among the Statues, either rough-hewn, or finished in marble by Michelagnolo for that Sacristy, is one of Our Lady.[172] This is a seated figure with the limbs

endure beyond the passions of the moment, even when the working out of those passions was to mean liberty or tyranny.

[170] It was only with great difficulty that he persuaded the leaders to adopt his plan of fortifying San Miniato. Although Michelangelo has been blamed for his lack of science in laying out these fortifications, it is said that Vauban commented favorably on them.

[171] Of the architectural arrangement of the Sacristy, Symonds notes that at this time Michelangelo considered statuary, bronze, bas-reliefs, and painting as essential adjuncts to architecture, and in emphasizing the obvious fact that the scheme of the Medici Sacristy is not so much constructive as decorative, the author ascribes much of its "most offensive qualities" "to the fact that the purposes for which it was designed have been omitted." That is to say, if the work had been finished as Buonarroti meant it to be, many statues and reliefs would have filled what are now empty niches or blank spaces.

[172] The statue, which is larger than those of the Duke, is unfinished. M. Guillaume notes that the features and attitude of the Virgin express anguish; the child hides his face; the Virgin seems to think "that he to whom she gives suck will, after being the pitying Saviour, become the implacable judge" (*L'Œuvre et la Vie*, p. 84). Symonds suggests that Michelangelo meant to place this Madonna between the saints, and a little higher than them, and to paint upon the wall behind them the Crucifixion. In the Louvre there is a famous pen drawing of this Virgin and Child called a study by Michelangelo for the statue. In reference to it a criticism by Mr. Kenyon Cox, the painter (Symonds's Michelangelo, The Nation, December 8, 1892, pp. 434–435), is interesting. Mr. Cox says: "We very much doubt if the so-called 'Study' for the Madonna of St. Lorenzo can be properly so called. It is boldly and rapidly sketched, but every fold of drapery is in the place it occupies in the statue, and even the light is just as it falls upon the group where it is placed in the chapel. We doubt if even Michelangelo ever conceived a work of art so absolutely in its entirety as this." Mr. Cox adds: "Is it even certain that

crossed, the Infant Christ being placed astride on the uppermost, and turning with an expression of ineffable sweetness towards the mother, as if entreating for the breast; while the Virgin, holding him with one hand and supporting herself with the other, is bending forward to give it him. The figures are not finished in every part, yet, in the imperfection of what is merely sketched, there clearly appears the perfection which is to be the final result.

But still more did he surprise all beholders by the Tombs of the Dukes Giuliano [173] and Lorenzo de' Medici, in which he appears to have proceeded on the conviction that Earth alone would not suffice to give an appropriate burial-place to their greatness, he would therefore have other powers of the world to take part, and caused the Statues to be placed over the Sarcophagus in such rich sort as to overshadow the same, giving to the one Day and Night namely, and to the other the Dawn and the Twilight.[174] All these Statues are

the drawing is by Michelangelo?" The readiness of Michelangelo to roughhew statues with no other guide (that we know of) than a tiny sketch has been commented upon, and M. Guillaume (*L'Œuvre et La Vie*, p. 86) cites a drawing belonging to the collection of the Archduke Albert at Vienna (this drawing is not catalogued by Signor Gotti) as showing the "*netteté absolue*" of Michelangelo's idea. Nevertheless, as Mr. Cox has shown, it is very remarkable, even surprising, that a colossus hewn in the rough should so exactly correspond with a bold pen "study" for the same.

[173] Titular Duke of Nemours.

[174] Dupré, the sculptor, has cited (see *L'Œuvre et la Vie*, p. 270), some lines written by Michelangelo. The sky and the sea (The Day and Night) speak together and say, "We, the Day and the Night have in our rapid flight brought Duke Julian to his death. It is but just that he should revenge himself; behold his vengeance; as we have put him to death, he, dead, has deprived us of the light, his closed eyes have shut our own, which no longer shine upon the earth. What might he not then have done with us while he lived." This apotheosis of the Medici at the hands of Michelangelo at first repels us; such magnificent sculpture seems prostituted in such symbolism. But this symbolism was only an excuse for grand sculptural abstractions; the chisel was sincere; but that the sculptor cared little to eternalize the Medici was shown by his answer to those who claimed that there was no portraiture in his faces of the Dukes. "Who," he said, "will care in a thousand years whether these features resemble theirs or not." In time the figures which were to glorify the Medici served to express the sculptor's patriotic in-

beautiful, whether in form or attitude, while the muscular development is treated with so much judgment, that if the Art of Sculpture were lost, it might, by their means, be restored to all its pristine lustre. The Statues of those Princes, in their armour, also make part of the ornament; Duke Lorenzo, thoughtful and reflective, with a form of so much beauty that eyes of mortal could see nothing better;[175] and Duke Giuliano,[176] haughty of aspect, but with the head, the throat, the setting of the eyes, the profile of the nose, the chiseling of the mouth, and the hair, so truly divine, as are also the hands, arms, knees and feet, with all besides indeed, accomplished by our artist in this place, that the spectator can never be satisfied with gazing, and finds it difficult to detach his eyes from these groups: and, of a truth, he who shall examine the beauty of the buskins and cuirass, must believe it to be celestial rather than of this world.[177]

dignation, and the pen, now as sincere as the chisel, wrote the answer to Strozzi, perhaps the finest verse which Michelangelo ever conceived:

"*Grato m e 'l sonno, e più l' esser di sasso*
*Mentre che 'l danno e la vergogna dura*
*Non veder non sentir m' è gran ventura*
*Però non mi destar, deh! parla basso.*"

In the *Codex Vaticanus* of Michelangelo's poems, the word *Grato* is changed to *Caro* in the sculptor's own handwriting.

[175] Dr. Grimm (who has been followed by certain other critics) reversed the names of the Dukes, and basing his theory largely upon the character of the men called the casqued warrior Giuliano. Heath Wilson, however, see *op. cit.*, Appendix, pp. 563 *et seq.*, was present on March 1, 1875, at the opening of the sarcophagus upon which are the statues of Dawn and Twilight, and the body within was identified as that of Lorenzo Duke of Urbino; together with him were found the remains of his reputed son, Alessandro de' Medici (assassinated by Lorenzino de' Medici).

[176] M. Eugène Guillaume says that in the head of Giuliano we see the perfected ideal of Michelangelo.

[177] M. Eugène Guillaume, the sculptor, notes, in *L'Œuvre et la Vie*, pp. 94, 95, that as Michelangelo used sculptural effects in his frescoes of the Sistine, so in his statues of the Medici Chapel he has used pictorial effects, polishing certain portions of the nude, surrounding the same with almost rough-hewn settings of costume or armor, just as in a picture strongly lighted planes might be made to detach themselves from a half-tint; in short, causing the half-finished surfaces to do in sculpture the duty of a background in painting.

But what shall I say of the Aurora ?[178]—a nude female form, well calculated to awake deep melancholy in the soul, and to make the Art of Sculpture cast down her chisel. Her attitude shows her to have hastily risen from her bed, while she is still heavy with sleep; but in this awakening, she had found the eyes of that great prince closed in death; wherefore she turns in bitter sorrow, bewailing, as an evidence of the great suffering she endures, her own unchangeable beauty. Or what shall I say of the Night ?—[179] a statue not rare but unique. Who, in any period of the world's history, has ever seen statues, ancient or modern,[180] exhibiting equal art ?[181] Not only is there here the repose of

Symonds, in speaking of the claim that the rough-hewn Twilight and Day owe much of their effect to this lack of finish, says that such criticism is sentimental, not scientific. Perhaps it is, as applied to the Day and Twilight, but as employed above by M. Guillaume it is scientific, technical, and authoritative.

[178] The great beauty of the Aurora, when seen looking upward from the feet to the head should be noted. No reproductions exist taken from this point of view, because distortion would necessarily be produced in the use of the camera.

[179] M. Guillaume notes that in the Night "the head drooping forward and putting the whole upper part of the body in penumbra adds to the plastic effect of the work, while the reflections which light it, by their transparency make the marble seem subtle and alive." This is another instance of the way in which Michelangelo could show himself sculptor and painter at once. There is a mask, a sketch in terra-cotta, in the South Kensington Museum, which J. C. Robinson (Italian Sculpture, etc., in the South Kensington Museum) thinks was a first sketch for the mask that rests on the arm of the figure of Night.

[180] Mr. William C. Brownell (French Art) says of these figures: "Standing before the Medicean Tombs the modern susceptibility receives perhaps the most poignant, one may almost say the most intolerable, impression to be obtained from any plastic work by the hand of man; but it is a totally different impression from that left by the Parthenon pediments, not only because the sentiment is wholly different, but because in the great Florentine's work it is so overwhelming as wholly to dominate purely natural expression, natural character, natural beauty. In the Medici Chapel the soul is exalted; in the British Museum the mind is enraptured. The object itself seems to disappear in the one case, and to reveal itself in the other."

[181] Taine says, in his *Voyage en Italie*, "Nothing in modern statuary equals them, and the noblest antiques do not surpass them, they are *different;* that is all that we can say. Phidias created serene gods, Michelangelo suffering

one who sleeps, but the grief and regret of one who has lost a great and valued possession. This is the Night that obscures all those who for a certain time expected, I will not say to surpass, but to equal Michelagnolo. In this figure is all that somnolency which one remarks in the sleeping form, as moulded by Nature herself; wherefore many verses, both in Latin and the vulgar tongue, were made in praise of our artist's work by most learned persons, as, for example, those which follow, and of which the author is not known.[182]

The Night that here thou seest, in graceful guise
Thus sleeping, by an Angel's hand was carved
In this pure stone; but sleeping, still she lives.
Awake her if thou doubtest, and she'll speak.

To these words Michelagnolo, speaking in the name of Night, replied as below :—

Happy am I to sleep, and still more blest
To be of stone, while grief and shame endure;
To see, nor feel, is now my utmost hope,
Wherefore speak softly, and awake me not.

Certain it is, that if the enmity, which constantly exists between Fortune and Genius, had suffered this work to attain completion, Art might have proved to Nature that she is capable of far surpassing her on every point.

While Michelagnolo was thus labouring with the utmost zeal and love at such works, [183] came the siege of Flor-

heroes, but suffering heroes are the equals of serene gods; it is the same magnanimity here exposed to this world's sufferings, there exempt from this world's sufferings; the sea is as grand in storm as in repose. Every one has seen the drawings or castings of these statues, but without coming here no one has seen their soul."

[182] The lines were by Giovan Battista Strozzi, and are :

*La notte, che tu vedi in si dolci atti*
*Dormir, fu da un Angelo scolpita*
*In questo sasso, e perchè dorme ha vita :*
*Destala se nol credi, e parleratti.*

Michelangelo's quatrain is quoted in note 174.

[183] In 1531 Michelangelo's health became injured by hard work on the Sacristy and by worry about the tomb of Julius II. The Pope issued a brief

ence, which too effectually impeded the completion thereof; this took place in 1529, when he could do little or nothing more, the citizens having charged him with the care of the fortifications, as we have said. He had lent the Republic a thousand crowns; and, as he made one of the Council of War, called the Nine, he turned all his mind and thoughts to the perfecting and strengthening of the defences. But at length, and when the enemy's troops had closed round the city, while all hope of aid was gradually disappearing, and the difficulties of maintaining the place increased, Michelagnolo, who felt himself to be in a position not suited to him, resolved, for the safety of his person, to leave Florence and repair to Venice, without making himself known to any one by the way.[184] He departed secretly, therefore, by the

on November 21, 1531, in which he commanded Michelangelo, under *pain of excommunication*, to do no work except on the Sacristy. The spiritual weapon of the Church proved effectual in protecting the sculptor from commissions and the heirs of Pope Julius, but probably did not wholly allay his anxiety, since to the end his desire to finish the tomb seems to have been sincere.

[184] The attitude of Michelangelo in reference to his departure from Florence is puzzling and has never been completely known. Apparently he wished to fortify San Miniato and met with opposition, but was at last sent by the Republic to consult Alfonso, Duke of Ferrara, a famous authority on fortifications. Michelangelo returned to Florence, and on September 21st again left that city. Condivi says, the sculptor fearing treachery warned the Signory, that his warning was treated lightly, and that despairing of the city's safety he fled. A letter to Palla Strozzi from Michelangelo says that a man came to him at the bastions outside the San Niccolò gate, on September 21st, warned him to flee if he meant to save his life, and accompanied him through the gates. "Whether God or the devil was the man," says the letter, "I do not know." The decoy may have come from a friend who knew that after warning the Signory of approaching treachery, Michelangelo would be in danger from Malatesta Baglioni, the traitor general, or Malatesta himself may have sent a messenger to get Michelangelo out of the way as a man dangerous to his (Malatesta's) plans. Busini says that Michelangelo told him that Mario Orsini, one of the other generals, acknowledged to him (Buonarotti) his belief that Baglioni would betray the town, and that these words inspired the sculptor to fly. Rinaldo Corsini accompanied the latter, but (at Ferrara) Giugni persuaded Rinaldo to return to Florence. Michelangelo kept on to Venice. A memorandum in Michelangelo's handwriting, and set down upon a half-written letter, dated Venice, September 10th, has caused Sig. Gotti to believe that Buonarrotti visited that city on a private mission for the Republic about August 29th. Symonds cannot agree with this opinion. The date is

road of Monte Miniato, no one being informed of his purpose, and having with him only his disciple Antonio Mini, and the goldsmith Piloto, his faithful friend.[185] They all bore a sum of money, each having fastened his portion into his doublet; and having reached Ferrara, the master halted to refresh himself.

Here the suspicions usual in time of war, and the league of the Emperor and Pope against Florence, caused the Duke Alfonso of Ferrara to keep strict watch, and he required to be secretly informed every day by the hosts of all the strangers whom they lodged; a list of all foreigners, with the countries to which they belonged, being carried to him daily. It thus happened, that although Michelagnolo desired to remain unknown, yet the Duke, made aware of his arrival by this means, greatly rejoiced thereat, because he had become his friend. That prince was a man of high mind, and delighted in works of genius all his life long. He instantly despatched some of the principal persons of his Court to invite Michelagnolo, in the name of his Excellency, to the Palace, where the Duke then was; these Signori being ordered to conduct him thither with his horses and all his baggage, and to give him commodious apartments in the Palace. Michelagnolo, thus finding that he was no longer

puzzling, but may have been a careless error. At all events, Buonarroti, after leaving Florence, returned to take his part in the siege, and this return shows that if suspicion and panic sometimes prompted transient impulses in Michelangelo, his conduct was in the end governed by patriotism and enforced by courage.

[185] Corsini also accompanied him (see note 184). While Michelangelo was in Venice, Lazare de Baif, the French ambassador, wrote to both Francis I. and Anne de Montmorency, announcing the sculptor's presence in the city, and stating the belief that if an advantageous invitation were extended, Michelangelo might be induced to go to France. In reply King Francis did extend such an invitation, with promise of provision, etc. See Baif's letter to M. de Veilly in Florence (*L'Œuvre et la Vie*, p. 276). Symonds's examination of the theory of Signor Gotti, that Michelangelo visited Venice twice, the first time in August, on a privy mission, is given at some length, *op. cit.*, I., pp. 424, 425, note 1. See also Gotti, Vol. I., p. 189; see also note 184 of this life. Misserini, in 1840, published a defence of Michelangelo's departure from Florence.

master of his movements, put a good face on the matter, and accompanied the Ferrarese nobles to the presence of their lord, but without removing his baggage from the hostelry. The Duke received him graciously, but complained of his reserve and secrecy; subsequently making him rich gifts, he did his utmost to prevail on him to settle in Ferrara; but to this Michelagnolo could not agree, when the Duke requested that he would at least not depart while the war continued, and again offered to serve him to the utmost of his power.

Unwilling to be outdone in courtesy, our artist thanked the Duke with the utmost gratitude, and turning to his two travelling companions, he remarked that he had brought 12,000 [186] crowns with him to Ferrara, and that if these could be of any service to the Duke, they were to consider his Excellency as much master of them as himself. The Duke then led the master through the Palace to amuse him as he had previously done at an earlier visit, showing him all the fine works in his possession, among others his own Portrait by the hand of Titian, which Michelagnolo greatly extolled: but the latter could not be prevailed on to accept rooms in the Palace, and insisted on returning to his inn. The host then received various supplies, secretly sent from the Duke for the better accommodation of our artist, and was forbidden to accept any remuneration when his guest should depart.

From Ferrara Michelagnolo repaired to Venice, where many of the most distinguished inhabitants desired to make his acquaintance; but he, who had never any very high opinion of their judgment in matters concerning his vocation, left the Giudecca, where he had taken up his abode, and where, as it is said, he prepared a design, at the entreaty of the Doge Gritti, for the Bridge of the Rialto, which was declared to be one of original invention and extraordinary beauty.[187] He was meanwhile earnestly en-

[186] Varchi says 12,000 florins. Michelangelo says in a letter 3,000 ducats, a more probable sum in view of the bulk and weight of 12,000 florins.

[187] The bridge was eventually built, 1588–91, by Antonio da Ponte.

treated to return to his native city, and not to abandon his works there; a safe conduct was likewise sent him, and, moved by love of his native place, he did eventually return,[188] but not without danger to his life. At this time Michelagnolo finished the Leda,[189] which he was painting, as I have said, at the request of the Duke Alfonso, and which was afterwards taken into France by his disciple Antonio Mini. He also repaired the Campanile of San Miniato, a tower which effectually harassed the enemy during the siege with its two pieces of artillery.[190] The Imperialists then

[188] Michelangelo returned about November 20th, and on the 23d the sentence of outlawry was commuted into exclusion from the Grand Council for three years. See Gaye's *Carteggio*, II., p. 214. On February 22, 1530, we hear of Michelangelo as ascending, with two other officers, the cupola of the Duomo to reconnoitre the enemy's works. Herr Springer thinks the fact that the permission was given only once and for one day, indirect evidence that Michelangelo, after his return, took little part in the defence. This theory does not seem tenable. A permission would have been required as a safeguard against other and perhaps untrustworthy persons using the same point of vantage, but the fact that it was not given again to Michelangelo is unimportant; perhaps he did not ask or require it; many other towers in Florence were almost equally available, and as Heath Wilson suggests, it is probable enough that the Signory did not wish the enemy's fire to be drawn to the cupola.

[189] The recorded facts concerning the Leda are puzzling and confused. See Gotti, *op. cit.* Mini had a copy made by Benedetto Bene, but apparently sold the *original* to Francis, and it was taken to Fontainebleau. Sublet des Noyers, one of the Ministers of Louis XIII., is said to have been offended by the character of the subject, and to have first greatly defaced the picture and then ordered that it should be burned. Mariette, writing in the time of Louis XV., says the order was not carried out, and claims that through all its defacement the picture still seemed admirable. He adds, that it was restored "by a mediocre painter and that it went to England." There is a cartoon of a Leda in the possession of the Royal Academy, and a large oil painting, much injured, belonging to the National Gallery, but not exhibited. Symonds, *op. cit.*, Vol. I., p. 443, note 3, thinks that one of these works "may not improbably be a contemporary *replica*," some critics would say an original, but nothing is proved with certainty. For details see Gotti, *Vita di Michelangelo;* also F. Reiset, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Second Period, XV., p. 246 (*Une Visite à la National Gallery*), 1876, and G. Frizzoni, *Arte italiana del Rinascimento.* It is pointed out in the *Kunstfreund*, cited by Mr. Claude Phillips in the Magazine of Art, XII., p. 261, that the first idea of the Leda was probably derived from a relief forming part of a Roman sarcophagus.

[190] Heath Wilson (*op. cit.*, p. 339) points out that the Campanile, which

assailed it with heavy cannon, and, having all but effected a breach, would soon have destroyed it utterly, had not Michelagnolo found means to oppose sacks of wool and thick mattresses to the artillery; but he did eventually defend it with success, and it is standing to this day.

We find it furthermore related that Michelangelo at that time obtained the block of marble nine braccia high, which Pope Clement, in the contention between Baccio Bandinelli and himself, had promised to the former. This being now the property of the Commonwealth, he demanded it from the Gonfaloniere, who granted his request, although Baccio had already made his model and diminished the stone considerably by the commencement of his rough-hewn sketch. Michelagnolo now prepared a model on his part, which was considered a very fine one; but on the return of the Medici, the marble was restored to Bandinelli.[191] The war having been brought to an end, Baccio Valori, commissioner of the Pope, received orders to arrest and imprison some of the more zealous among the citizens, the Court itself causing Michelagnolo to be sought in his dwelling, but he, doubtful of their intentions, concealed himself in the house of a *trusted* friend, where he remained several days.[192]

still exists, measures eight feet square within the walls, so that if cannon were mounted there they must have been mere popguns, as cannon of any size could not be served in the space. The use of wool-packs in fortification antedates Michelangelo's time. The details of the defence of San Miniato are given at length in Grimm's Life of Michael Angelo. For original sources see Missirini, *Difesa di Michel-Angelo Buonarotti per la sua partenza di Firenze*, 1840; *Lettere di G.-B. Busini a Ben. Varchi sugli avvenimenti dell' assedio d' Firenze*, published in Pisa, 1822.

[191] This piece of marble so handed about was destined first by Michelangelo to be a Hercules and Antæus (or a Hercules and Cacus), then it was hacked by Bandinelli, was again given to Michelangelo, who this time proposed to make a Samson killing a Philistine; lastly, at the hands of Bandinelli, it became the wretched group so laughed at by contemporaneous Florentines, and still to be seen on the Piazza della Signoria. A wax model for a Hercules and Cacus at the Kensington Museum is attributed to Michelangelo as the sketch for his projected group. See J. C. Robinson, the Italian Sculpture, etc., pp. 141–44.

[192] He is said to have been hidden in the *campanile* of San Niccolò oltr' Arno, see Gotti, *op. cit.*, I., p. 199.

But when the first bitterness of resentment had subsided, Pope Clement, remembering the ability of Michelagnolo, commanded that he should be sought anew, but with orders that no reproaches should be addressed to him, nay, rather that he should have all his early appointments restored, and should proceed with the works of San Lorenzo, M. Giovambattista Figiovanni, an ancient servant of the house of Medici, and prior of San Lorenzo, being named superintendent of the work. Thus reassured, Michelagnolo, to make a friend of Baccio Valori, commenced a figure in marble of three braccia high; an Apollo namely, drawing an arrow from his quiver, but did not quite finish it; it is now in the apartments of the Prince of Florence, and although, as I have said, not entirely finished, is a work of extraordinary merit.[193]

About this time there came to Michelagnolo a gentleman of the Duke Alfonso of Ferrara, who, having heard that the master had completed a beautiful work for him, and being unwilling to lose such a jewel, had sent the gentleman in question to secure it, who had no sooner arrived in Florence than he sought out our artist, to whom he presented the letters of his lord. Having received him courteously, the master then showed him the Leda; her arm thrown around the swan, and with Castor and Pollux proceeding from the egg; a large picture in tempera. The Duke's

[193] The so-called Apollino, long neglected in the Boboli Gardens, but now placed in the National Museum (the Bargello), is closing his quiver, not drawing an arrow. The allusion is pertinent; Baccio Valori possessed the power to end, or at least to modify, the Papal proscriptions of the partisans of the Republic. M. Guillaume has noted that the Apollino, though much smaller, is analogous in character to the so-called Captives in the Louvre. Symonds thinks that it may have been one of these projected Captives utilized by Michelangelo as a present to Valori. M. de Montaiglon, *op. cit.*, p. 279, suggests that the great bronze Apollo brought from the park of St. Cloud to the Louvre after the Franco-Prussian war may have some relation to this Apollino, and that the latter may be the model for, or genesis of, the former. There is in the South Kensington Museum a model in red wax which is believed to be a first sketch of the Apollino. In the model the left arm and the right leg from the knee down are lacking. See J. C. Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

messenger, expecting, from what he had heard of Michelagnolo, to see some great thing, but who was incapable of comprehending the excellence and power of art displayed in that figure, remarked to the master, "Oh, this is but a very trifling affair." Whereupon our artist, knowing that none have better judgment in a matter than those who had long experience therein, inquired of him what his vocation might be. To which the gentleman, secretly smiling and believing himself not to be known for such to Michelagnolo, replied, "I am a merchant;" at the same time making a sort of jest of the question, and speaking with contemptuous lightness of the industry of the Florentines. "Aye, indeed," replied Michelagnolo, who had thoroughly understood the sense of his words; "then you will make a bad bargain for your master this time; be pleased to take yourself out of my sight."

In those days Antonio Mini, the disciple of Michelagnolo, had two sisters to marry, when the master presented the Leda to him, some few days after the conversation just related, with the greater part of the designs and cartoons which he had made, most noble gift indeed. When Antonio afterwards took it into his head to go to France, therefore, he carried with him two chests of models, with a vast number of cartoons finished for making pictures, some of which had been painted, while others still remained to be executed. The Leda he there sold, by the intermission * of certain merchants, to Francis the King of France; and it is now at Fontainebleau; but the cartoons and designs were lost, seeing that Antonio died before he had been long in France, when those treasures were stolen, and our country was thus deprived, to her incalculable injury, of those admirable works of art. The Cartoon of the Leda [194] has,

* Read "intervention."

[194] A cartoon of Leda and the Swan is in the Council-room of the Royal Academy of Arts, London; it differs somewhat from Vasari's description; it has been attributed to Bronzino. See G. Frizzoni, *L'Arte Italiana nella Galleria Nazionale di Londra.* M. F. Chevalier writes of the Leda in *L'Artiste*, VII., new series, p. 291, Paris, 1877. Although the authenticity of the Car-

however, returned to Florence, and is in the possession of Bernardo Vecchietti. There are four pieces of the Cartoons of the Chapel also, which have been brought back by the sculptor Benvenuto Cellini, and are now held by the heirs of Girolamo degli Albizzi.[195]

Michelagnolo now thought it fitting and proper that he should repair to Rome, there to take the commands of Pope Clement, who, though much displeased, was yet the friend of distinguished men; His Holiness accordingly forgave all, and ordered him to return to Florence with a commission to give the ultimate completion to the Library and the Sacristy of San Lorenzo. By way of facilitating the prog-

toon of the Leda in the Royal Academy of London is doubted, the statement is made that in Bottari's time the original cartoon was bought in Florence and carried to London. Michelangelo made a cartoon before 1537 of Venus embracing Cupid, which was colored, or copied in color, by Pontormo, and which is now in the Uffizi. The fine reproduction at Hampton Court may also be by Pontormo. The sculptor also confided to Jacopo a cartoon of a Christ appearing to the Magdalen, and the latter painter executed a painting from it for Alfonso d'Avalos and a *replica* for Alessandro Vitelli. The cartoon was again copied (with the addition of color) by Battista Franco. Marcello Venusti painted two Annunciations after the designs of Michelangelo, and according to Francesco Scannelli, the same Venusti painted a little picture of a Resurrection of Christ, very probably inspired by the fine drawing of Buonarroti in the British Museum, or by the one in Paris. There was a very small picture in the collection of the Duc d'Orleans, which Dubois de St. Gelais attributed to Michelangelo, it represented Christ on the Mount of Olives. This picture (or else an ancient copy of it) is in the Munich collection. Paul Mantz is convinced that Marcello Venusti had a great deal to do with the execution of it, and perhaps of the conception as well. (See *L'Œuvre et la Vie de Michelange*, p. 160.) The same critic declines to accept the famous picture of the Three Fates as in any way the work of Michelangelo, whether as to design or execution.

[195] The following palaces, galleries, etc., contain important collections of Michelangelo's drawings: Windsor Castle; Oxford; Frankfort, Staedel Gallery; Casa Buonarroti, Florence; Lille, Musée Wicar; the Louvre, the British Museum, and the Ambrosian Library, Milan. The collection of Michelangelo's drawings, formerly at The Hague, has been dispersed. See J. C. Robinson, The Drawings of Michael Angelo and Raffaello in the University Galleries, Oxford, 1870. J. Fisher, Fac-similes of the Drawings by Michael Angelo in the University Galleries, Oxford, London, 1852. Louis Fagan, The Art of Michael Angelo as Illustrated by the Collections in the British Museum, London, 1883.

ress of the work moreover, the large number of Statues required for it were distributed among other masters. Tribolo received two; one was given to Raffaello da Monte Lupo; and another to the Servite monk, Frà Giovan Agnolo, all sculptors;[196] but Michelagnolo assisted each of

[196] Michelangelo gave to Raffaello da Montelupo the execution of the statue of San Damiano, and to Fra Giovan Agnolo Montorsoli that of San Cosimo. (Cosimo and Damian were patron saints of the Medici.) Tribolo fell ill and did not execute his statues, and at present twelve niches remain empty. Milanesi, VII., p. 203, note 4, names Batista del Cinque as Batista Botticelli, but does not know who Ciapino was. The other masters were Antonio di Marco di Giano (Il Carota) and Giovanni Battista del Tasso. The *stucchi* have disappeared; the woodwork remains. The work upon the Medici sacristy proceeded slowly, and it was a very long time before the statues were placed.

The following is the passage from the life of Tribolo, referring to the Sacristy of San Lorenzo:

"In these labours the Pontiff would have no delay, and therefore despatched Michelagnolo to Florence, sending also with him the Servite Monk, Fra Giovan Agnolo, who had executed certain works in the Belvedere, to the end that the latter might assist in the carving of the marbles, and might execute such of the statues as Michelagnolo should appoint him to finish under his guidance. The latter gave Fra Giovan Agnolo a figure of San Cosimo accordingly, and this was to stand on one side of a Madonna, the figure of San Damiano, the commission for which had been accorded to Montelupo, being intended to occupy the place on the other side.

"These being thus disposed of, Michelagnolo intended that Tribolo should execute two nude figures, which were to be placed one on each side of the statue of the Duke Giuliano, which had previously been sculptured by Michelagnolo himself. One of these two statues, crowned with cypress, and bending her head, while the arms are outstretched in the attitude of grief, as bewailing the death of Giuliano, was to represent the Earth; the other, smiling and triumphant, with arms upraised, was to signify Heaven, and to express rejoicing for the splendor and ornament which she owed to the mind and heart of that prince. But the adverse fortune of Tribolo opposed herself to this arrangement, and exactly at the moment when he would have commenced the statue of the Earth, whether from change of air, from the natural delicacy of his constitution, or from some irregularity in the mode of his life, he fell very seriously ill, and his malady having terminated in quartan fever, hung about him for many months, to his indescribable vexation, seeing that the grief which he felt at finding himself compelled to abandon his work, while the Monk and Raffaello da Montelupo were gaining possession of the field, tormented him no less than the malady itself.

"Eagerly desiring to overcome this disease, to the end that he might not remain behind his competitors, whose names he daily heard more and more exalted, he prepared a large model in clay for the statue of the Earth, ill and weak as he was, and having finished it, began to work on the marble with so

them, making rough models in clay for them all. While these masters, therefore, were zealously occupied with their works, Michelagnolo proceeded with the Library, the ceiling of which was finished after his models by the Florentines Caroto and Tasso, both excellent carvers and masters in wood-work ; the shelves for the books being executed at the same time by Battista del Cinque and Ciapino his friend, also good masters in their vocation ; while, to give the work its final perfection, the famous Giovanni of Udine was invited to Florence ; when he, assisted by his disciples and certain Florentine masters, adorned the Tribune with stucco-work ; all these artists labouring zealously to bring the edifice to completion.

Michelagnolo, on his part, was anxious to have his statues also in readiness, but the Pope then summoned him to Rome, for the purpose of adorning the walls of the Chapel of Sixtus with pictures, as he had already done the ceiling for Pope Julius II. On the first of these walls, or that behind the Altar, Pope Clement commanded him to paint the Last Judgment, proposing that in this picture he should display all that the art of design is capable of effecting ; while on the opposite wall, and over the principal door, the Pontiff directed that the Fall of Lucifer, and that of the Angels who sinned with him, should be depicted, with their Expulsion from Heaven and Precipitation to the centre of Hell.[197] Of these subjects, it was found that Michelagnolo had long before made sketches and designs, one of them being afterwards put into execution; in the Church

much care and solicitude, that the foremost part of the figure was already brought out, when Fortune, who is ever ready to impede the progress of a fair commencement, by the death of Pope Clement at a moment when it was least feared, cut short the expectations of many excellent artists, who had hoped beneath the guidance of Michelagnolo, to obtain for themselves immortal glory and perpetual fame."

[197] The Fall of the Rebel Angels was never begun, though some of the cartoons were executed. Didron, in his Christian Iconography, notes that the "Mirror of Salvation" in the Sistine Chapel is treated as a drama in which the Fall of the Rebel Angels (which completed the cycle) formed the Prologue and the Last Judgment the Epilogue.

of the Trinità in Rome, by a Sicilian painter, who had been many months with Michelagnolo, and had served him in the grinding of his colours.[198] The picture, which is in fresco, is in the Transept of the church, at the chapel of San Gregorio namely; and although badly executed, there is nevertheless a certain force and variety in the attitudes and groups of those nude figures raining down from heaven; and of the others, which having fallen to the centre, are then turned into frightful and horrible forms of Demons, which certainly give evidence of extraordinary power of fancy and invention.

While Michelagnolo was thus busied with his painting of the Last Judgment, no day passed that he did not have contentions with the agents of the Duke of Urbino, who accused him of having received sixteen thousand crowns for the Tomb of Pope Julius II. He was much grieved at this charge, and though now become old, wished to finish the tomb, since so unlooked-for an opportunity had been presented to him of returning to Rome, whence indeed he desired never to depart, not being willing to remain in Florence, because he greatly feared the Duke Alessandro de' Medici, whom he knew to be no friend of his; nay, when the latter had intimated to him, through the Signor Alessandro Vitelli, that he must repair to Florence, there to select a better site for the forts and citadel, Michelagnolo replied that he would not go thither, unless compelled to do so by Pope Clement.

An agreement being finally arrived at, in respect to the Tomb of Julius, the matter was arranged on this wise: the edifice was no longer to be an isolated fabric, but merely a single façade, executed as Michelagnolo should think best, he being held nevertheless to supply to it six Statues by his own hand. By this contract the Duke of Urbino allowed Michelagnolo to work during four months[199] of the year for

[198] This painting disappeared when the chapel of St. Francis was built in the church. See the Abate Titi's Description of Rome, cited in *L'Œuvre et la Vie*, p. 284.

[199] Or rather eight months.

Pope Clement, whether in Florence or wherever else it might please the Pontiff to employ him; Michelagnolo now believed himself to have obtained quiet, but he was not allowed to continue his work of the Tomb in peace, because Pope Clement, eager to behold the ultimate effort and force of his art in the Chapel, kept him perpetually occupied with those paintings.[200] Yet, while giving the Pontiff reason to suppose him fully employed with them, he did secretly work on the Statues for the Sepulchre.

In the year 1533, Pope Clement died,[201] when the works proceeding at the Library and Sacristy in Florence, which, notwithstanding all the efforts made, were not yet finished, were at once laid aside. Michelagnolo then believed himself to be free and at liberty to give all his attention to the Tomb of Pope Julius, but Paul III. being created High Pontiff, no long time elapsed before our artist was summoned by His Holiness, who received him with great favour, declaring that he wished the master to enter his service and remain near his person; Michelagnolo excused himself, saying, he was engaged by contract to the Duke of Urbino until the Tomb should be completed; but Paul, much displeased, replied, "For thirty years have I had this wish, and now that I am Pope will you disappoint me? That contract shall be torn up, for I will have you work for me, come what may." Hearing this, Michelagnolo was tempted to leave Rome and find means for the completion of the Tomb elsewhere. Yet, prudent as he was, and fearing the power of the Pontiff, he resolved to try if he could not content him with words, and so keep him quiet (seeing that he was already so old), until some new change might ensue.

Pope Paul meanwhile, determined to have some important

[200] Vasari apparently does injustice to Clement; the Duke of Urbino seems at this time to have been considerate with Michelangelo, and the latter complains of neither patron. Heath Wilson says, *op. cit.*, p. 412, that Pope Paul's Brief of September 18, 1537, is eminently unfair to Clement in claiming that he had prevented the work on the monument.

[201] On September 25, 1534 (N. S.). Michelangelo arrived two days previous to Clement's death; he never again lived in Florence for any length of time.

work executed by Michelagnolo, went one day to his house with ten Cardinals, and then demanded to see all the Statues for the Tomb of Julius; they appeared to him to be most admirable, more particularly the Moses, which, as the Cardinal of Mantua remarked, was sufficient of itself to do honour to the late Pontiff. The Cartoons and designs for the walls of the Chapel were next examined, these also amazed the Pope with their beauty, and he again pressed Michelagnolo to enter his service, promising to persuade the Duke of Urbino to content himself with three Statues by the hand of Michelagnolo, who might cause the remaining three to be executed after his own models by other good artists. And His Holiness did accordingly so arrange with the Duke's agents, that a new contract was signed by that prince;[202] but Michelagnolo proposed, of his own free will, to pay for the three Statues wanting, as well as for the masonry of the sepulchre, depositing one thousand five hundred and eighty ducats in the Bank of the Strozzi for that purpose. This he might have avoided, had it pleased him to do so; but having done that, he thought he had made sufficient sacrifices for so laborious and vexatious an undertaking as this Tomb had proved to be, and he then caused it to be erected, at San Pietro in Vincola, in the following manner.[203]

[202] By the last agreement between the Duke of Urbino, the Pope and Michelangelo, August 20, 1542, the latter was to finish the Moses, and Montelupo was to complete five statues sketched in the rough by Michelangelo, namely, the Virgin, which was already nearly finished, the Active Life, the Contemplative Life, a Prophet, and a Sibyl. Giacomo (perhaps the Sicilian Jacopo del Duca—see *L'Œuvre et la Vie*, p. 280), made four heads of terminal figures for the monument, and Battista di Donato Benti carved the escutcheon of Julius II. Three documents of 1545, say that not Montelupo but Michelangelo finished the Active Life and Contemplative Life. The Tomb does not appear to have been erected before 1550. Heath Wilson, Michelangelo, pp. 449, 450, notes the badly fitted blocks of the lower stage of the Tomb, and says that, save for the grand statue of Moses, "if Michelangelo had deliberately resolved to justify the complaint of the Della Rovere, and of the friends of that powerful family, he could not have taken more effectual steps to do so," than by the way in which he completed the monument.

[203] Garnier, *op. cit.*, p. 198, says of the architectural disposition of the Tomb

The lower basement, with its carved decorations, has four pedestals, which project forwards to the extent required for giving room to a figure representing a Captive, which was originally to have been placed on each, but for which a terminal figure was now substituted; the lower part had thus a poor appearance, and a reversed corbel was therefore added at the feet of each. Between the termini are three niches, of which the two outermost have a circular form, and were to have received figures of Victory; instead of which, the one had now Leah, the daughter of Laban, as the representative of Active Life; in one hand she holds a mirror, to denote the circumspection which we should give to our actions; and in the other a garland, to intimate the virtues which adorn our lives while in this world, and render them glorious after death. The opposite niche received Rebecca, the sister of Leah, as denoting Life in Contemplation;[204] her hands are joined, her knees are bent, and her face is turned upwards as in ecstacy of spirit. These Statues were executed by Michelagnolo himself in less than a year.

In the centre is the third niche, but this is of a square form, having been originally intended to serve as the entrance to the oval temple, wherein the quadrangular sarcophagus was to have been erected. In this niche there is now placed the beautiful and majestic Statue of Moses, of which we have said enough. Over the heads of the terminal figures, which serve as capitals, there are the Architrave, Frieze, and Cornice, which project over the termini and are richly carved in foliage, ovoli, denticulations, and other ornaments. Above the cornice is a second compartment without carving of any kind, but with termini of a different

of Julius that "it is a confusion of little niches, little pilasters, little panels clapped one against another without other purpose than that of serving as frame, and such an ugly frame," to the sculpture; he adds that this petty work does not in any way suggest Michelangelo, and that it is not even a painter's architecture, but rather the architecture of a goldsmith.

[204] Condivi tells us that the statues of the Contemplative Life and the Active Life were suggested by the Rachel and Leah of the *Purgatorio* (XXVII.).

form, and other figures, standing immediately over those below, they stand in the place of pilasters with varied cornices. In the centre of this compartment, which is similar to and accompanies that below in all its parts, is an opening corresponding with the niche wherein is the Moses; and here, supported by the ressaults of the cornice, is a marble sarcophagus on which is the recumbent Statue of Pope Julius II. executed by the sculptor Maso dal Bosco.[205] Immediately over this and within a niche is the figure of Our Lady holding the Divine Child in her arms, and executed, after the model of Michelagnolo, by the sculptor Scherano da Settignano. These are tolerably good statues; and in two other niches, also of a square form, are two larger statues, a Prophet and a Sybil namely, both seated; they are placed immediately over the figures representing Active Life and Life in Contemplation. These were made by Raffaello da Montelupo, as we have said in the Life of Baccio his father, but did not give satisfaction to Michelagnolo.

This part of the Tomb was surmounted by a richly decorated cornice, which formed the summit of the whole, and projected considerably over the whole front of the work. At the ends of the same, and above the Termini, stand Candelabra of marble; and in the centre, or over the Prophet and Sybil, are the Arms of Julius II. Within each of the niches, however, it has been necessary to make a window for the convenience of the monks who serve the church; the choir being behind this monument, these windows permit the voices to be heard in the church, and allow the divine offices to be seen. Upon the whole, then, the work has turned out to be a very good one, although wanting much of the magnificence promised by the first design.

[205] This was Tommaso di Pietro Boscoli of Fiesole (1501-74), the pupil of Andrea Contucci da Monte Sansovino, see Milanesi, VII., p. 208, note 1. This recumbent statue (Heath Wilson thinks it is beneath criticism) was a poor reward for the man who had given Italy the *Stanze* and the *Sistina*. Raphael paid his debt better with the portrait of the Pitti; but, after all, the Cardinal of Mantua was right, the Moses was monument enough for one Pope, be he who he might.

Michelagnolo had now resolved, since he could not do otherwise, to enter the service of Pope Paul III., who commanded him to continue the paintings ordered by Pope Clement, without departing in any manner from the earlier plans and inventions, which had been laid before His Holiness; for the latter held the genius of Michelagnolo in great respect; nay, the love and admiration which he felt for him were such that he desired nothing more earnestly than to do him pleasure. Of this there was a proof in the fact that Pope Paul desired to have his own Arms placed beneath the Statue of the Prophet Jonas,[206] where those of Julius II. had previously been. But when the master, not wishing to do wrong to Julius and Clement, declined to execute them there, saying that it would not be well to do so, His Holiness yielded at once, that he might not give Michelagnolo pain, acknowledging at the same time the excellence of that man who followed the right and just alone, without flattery or undue respect of persons; a thing to which the great are but little accustomed.[207]

Michelagnolo now caused an addition to be made to the wall of the Chapel, a sort of escarpment, carefully built of well-burnt and nicely chosen bricks, and projecting half a braccio at the summit, in such sort that no dust or other soil could lodge on the work.[208] But I do not propose to

[206] The groups painted by Michelangelo under the Prophet Jonas were painted out when the Last Judgment was executed. The genealogical series showing the descent of Christ from Abraham was thus rendered incomplete. There is a reproduction of the groups destroyed, in W. Young Ottley's Early Florentine School (1826). The engraving was made after a drawing of the early part of the sixteenth century, which had come into the possession of Samuel Rogers.

[207] Michelangelo, in the conversations reported by Francis of Holland (see note 301), says that not unoften the pope wearied him by asking too much of his company, and that for his part he would rather work after his own fashion for His Holiness than stand up in his presence all day long. He adds: "I sometimes without realizing it put this felt hat on in the pope's presence and speak very freely to His Holiness. He doesn't put me to death for it, but lets me live, and as I told you, it's just at such times that I am thinking most about his interests."

[208] The projection is not apparent from below. If it kept off dust it also increased the injury from rising smoke.

enter into details[209] as regards the compositions or inventions of this story, because there have been so many prints, great and small, made from it that I need not waste my time in describing the same.[210] Let it suffice to say that the purpose of this extraordinary master was no other than the representation by the pencil of the human form, in the absolute perfection of its proportions, and the greatest possible variety of attitude, with the passions, emotions, and affections of the soul, expressed with equal force and truth: it was sufficient to him to treat that branch of art wherein he was superior to all, and to lay open to others the grandeur of manner that might be attained in the nude form, by the display of what he could himself effect in the difficulties of design, thus facilitating the practice of art in its principal object, which is the human form. Keeping this end in view, he gave but slight attention to the attractions of colouring, or to the caprices and new phantasies of certain delicate minutiæ, which some painters, and not perhaps without good show of reason, have been especially careful to cultivate. Many, indeed, who have not possessed Michelagnolo's distinction in design, have sought by the variety of their tints and shades of colouring, by many fanciful and varied inventions, or, in short, by some other method of proceeding, to make their way to a place beside the first masters; but Michelagnolo, taking firm ground on the most recondite principles of art, has made manifest to all who know enough to profit by his teaching, the means by which they may attain perfection.

But to return to the story. Michelagnolo had brought three-fourths of the work to completion, when Pope Paul went to see it; and Messer Biagio da Cesena, the master of

[209] If the frescoes by Perugino equalled his Delivery of the Keys to Peter, which is upon the lateral wall, we may heartily regret their loss and wish that there had been space for both them and the Last Judgment.

[210] In the life of Sebastian del Piombo, Vol. III., p. 337, Vasari states that Sebastian prepared the wall in oil for painting the Last Judgment, and that Michelangelo ordered the preparation to be removed. The story may or may not be true.

ceremonies, a very punctilious man, being in the Chapel with the Pontiff, was asked what he thought of the performance. To this he replied, that it was a very improper thing to paint so many nude forms, all showing their nakedness in that shameless fashion, in so highly honoured a place; adding that such pictures were better suited to a bath-room, or a road-side wine-shop, than to the chapel of a Pope. Displeased by these remarks, Michelagnolo resolved to be avenged; and Messer Biagio had no sooner departed than our artist drew his portrait from memory, without requiring a further sitting, and placed him in Hell under the figure of Minos, with a great serpent wound round his limbs,[211] and standing in the midst of a troop of devils: nor did the entreaties of Messer Biagio to the Pope and Michelagnolo, that this portrait might be removed, suffice to prevail on the master to consent; it was left as first depicted, a memorial of that event, and may still be seen.[212]

It chanced about this time that Michelagnolo fell from a no inconsiderable height of the scaffolding around this work and hurt his leg, yet in the pain and anger this caused him he would suffer no surgeon to approach his bed; wherefore the Florentine physician, Maestro Baccio Rontini, the friend of Michelagnolo, and a great admirer of his genius, who was a very eccentric person, taking compassion on his state, went one day to knock at the door of the house. Obtaining no reply, either from his neighbours or himself, he strove to make his way in by a secret entrance, and from room to room at length arrived at that wherein the master lay. He found him in a desperate state, but from that moment he would not leave his bed-side, and never lost sight of the patient until he had effectually cured the injured leg.

[211] Round the waist rather—Michelangelo here follows Dante.

[212] Messer Biagio is said to have complained to the Pope who told him that he could do nothing, saying, "Had the painter sent thee to Purgatory, I would have used my best efforts to release thee, but since he hath sent thee to Hell, it is useless to come to me, as I have no power there; '*ubi nulla est redemptio.*'"

His malady overcome, and having returned to his work, the master laboured thereat continually for some months, when he brought it to an end,[213] giving so much force to the figures of the same, that they verified the description of Dante,—"Dead are the dead, the living seem to live." The sufferings of the condemned and the joys of the blessed are exhibited with equal truth; wherefore, this painting being given to view, Michelagnolo was found to have surpassed not only all the early masters who had painted in that Chapel, but himself also, having resolved, as respected the ceiling which had rendered him so celebrated, to be his own conqueror; here, therefore, he had by very far exceeded that work, having imagined to himself all the terrors of the last day with the most vivid force of reality. For the greater pain of those who have not passed their lives well, he has represented all the Passion of our Saviour Christ, as presenting itself to their view; the cross, the column, the lance, the sponge, the nails, and the crown of thorns, being all borne in the air by nude figures; whose difficult and varied movements are executed with infinite facility. The

[213] The cartoon for the fresco of the Last Judgment was made before September, 1534, that is to say, during the lifetime of Clement. By a brief of Paul III., September 1, 1535, published in 1809 by Moreni, *vide* M. A. de Montaiglon, *L'Œuvre et la Vie*, p. 284, we see that the work had been commenced. The finished painting was uncovered December 25, 1541, for the Christmas celebration. The figures in the lower part of the composition are two metres high, those of the centre three to three and a half, those surrounding the Christ four metres; it is, however, to be remarked that in each portion of the picture there are figures whose sizes vary greatly according to the planes of perspective. The fresco has been greatly injured by restoring or altering. Aretino was shocked (!) by the nudity of the figures, and Daniello Ricciarelli (of Volterra) was commissioned to paint draperies upon them and earned the name of "*il Braghettone*," the breechesmaker. Daniello, a follower of Michelangelo, had no idea of color and may be answerable for some of the present crude color of the fresco, but toward 1566 Girolamo da Fano retouched it again. In 1762 draperies were painted upon many figures (probably by Stefano Pozzi). Add to all this deliberate alteration the injury caused by dust, cobwebs, cracking, natural darkening, and above all by the blackening caused by candle-smoke and by that from the papers burned after each papal election and we have some idea of the deterioration which has come to this huge fresco.

seated figure of our Lord, with a countenance terrible in anger,[214] is turned towards the condemned, on whom he thunders anathema, not without great horror on the part of Our Lady, who, wrapt in her mantle, is the witness of that destruction.

There are, besides, a vast number of figures, Prophets, and Apostles, surrounding the Saviour;[215] those of Adam

[214] Haydon says, in his Correspondence and Table-Talk, II., p. 152: "When we consider that these frightful giants are representations of Christ and his saints, it does appear the greatest dereliction of propriety ever committed in art." Many have felt with Haydon, if in lesser measure; others, like Grimm, have surrendered themselves to the power and sweep of the work, and, indeed, even those to whom the Last Judgment is most antipathetic, must acknowledge that portions of the work have great beauty and assuredly show astonishing skill, invention, and variety of movement. It is certainly hard to find in either face or figure of this furious, beardless athlete anything which fulfils the idea of what is Christlike. Francis of Holland (see note 301), quotes Michelangelo as saying that only the most illustrious artists should be permitted to execute devotional pictures or statues since "badly painted figures distract the mind and diminish the devotion" of the onlooker, especially if that onlooker have little devotion to begin with. Symonds's remarks that this really sound proposition rings a *little* hollow coming from the lips of one who created the Christ of the Minerva or of the Last Judgment; and we may add that Michelangelo's theory, if based upon a sound premise, is not borne out by facts, certainly beautiful things *should* be more worshipful than unbeautiful things, but this is not the case in Italian churches, where the devout are not preoccupied by questions of æsthetics or of *technique;* Goethe is nearer right when he says that "miracle-working pictures are generally very bad works of art." An interesting reference in Symonds (*op. cit.*, II., p. 113, note), quotes Ammanati in a letter of August 22, 1582. He says that Michelangelo had told him "that good Christians always make good and beautiful pictures!" He, Ammanati, then goes on to attack his own Fountain of Neptune on the Piazza della Signoria as indecent.

[215] Heath Wilson (*op. cit.*, 427), who had exceptional opportunities for studying the fresco, notes that in the frescoes on the vault the figures are painted with the utmost accuracy of detail, but in the Last Judgment, which is, of course, much nearer the observer, many of the heads are generalized and minute details are avoided. Michelangelo's method of procedure appears to have been about the same as for the vault, except that the stylus was less frequently used in transferring the design to the wall. Heath Wilson, as has been already mentioned, notes from personal study of the surface seen close at hand from a scaffold, that even upon the vaulting frescoes, Michelangelo used the dotted lines obtained by pouncing more frequently than he did the stylus; the critic cites in proof of his statement the cartoons in Naples. As

and St. Peter are more especially conspicuous, and they are believed to have been made so; the one as the first parent of those thus brought to judgment, the other as being the founder of the Christian religion. At the feet of Christ is a most beautiful figure of San Bartolommeo, holding forth the skin of which he was deprived; with a nude figure of San Lorenzo, and those of other saints male and female, to say nothing of the many other forms of men and women, some near and some at greater distance, who embrace each other and express their joy; they, by the grace of God and as the reward of their good works, having secured eternal blessedness. Beneath the feet of our Saviour are the seven Angels with the seven trumpets, described by St. John the Evangelist; and as they summon all to judgment, the terrible expression of their faces causes the hair to stand on end. Among the angels, there are two holding the Book of Life; while near them on one side, and not without admirable forethought, are the seven mortal sins in the form of demons: they are struggling to drag down to hell the souls which are flying, with beautiful attitudes and admirable foreshortenings, towards heaven.

Nor has our artist hesitated to show the world how, in the resurrection of the dead, these forms retake their flesh and bones from the earth itself, and how, assisted by others, already risen to life, they are soaring into the heavens, the blessed spirits above also lending them aid; every part exhibits the peculiarities that may be supposed best suited to such a work: the master having made sketches and endured fatigues of all kinds, as indeed may be clearly perceived throughout the whole. This is, perhaps, more particularly manifest in the barque of Charon, who stands in an attitude of furious anger, striking with his oars at the souls which are dragged into the boat by the devils: as Mi-

to the stylus, Wilson believes that in the case of the Adam in the vaulting frescoes Michelangelo used the point in free correction and not as a tracing point with paper interposed between it and the plaster. The fresco of the Last Judgment is much retouched in distemper color.

chelagnolo's most beloved author, Dante, has described him, when he says,—

> Charon, the demon, with the eyes of brass,*
> Calls the sad troops, and having gathered all,
> Smites with raised oar the wretch that dares delay.

Nor would it be easy adequately to describe the variety displayed in the heads of those devils, which are truly monsters of hell. In the sinners also, the crimes they have committed, with their fear of eternal punishment for the same, are equally manifest, and, to say nothing of the beauty of this work, the harmony with which it is executed is so extraordinary that the pictures appear as if all painted in the same day, while the delicacy of their finish surpasses that of any miniature. But of a truth the number of figures, with the grandeur and dignity of the composition, are such, while the expression of every passion proper to humanity is so fully and so wonderfully expressed, that no words could do the work justice. The proud, the envious, the avaricious, or the luxurious, are easily distinguished by one who examines with judgment, the master having given his attention to every point, and maintained the truth of Nature in each expression, attitude, and circumstance, of whatever kind ; a thing which, however great and admirable, was not impossible to Michelagnolo, who was ever prudent and observing. He had seen many men and lived much in the world, thereby acquiring the knowledge which philosophers seek to obtain from books and reflection.

The man of judgment and one well versed in Art will here perceive the latter in all its force, and will discover thoughts and emotions in these figures such as were never depicted by any other than Michelagnolo himself. Here we may learn how the attitude may be varied even in the most extraordinary gestures of young men and old, male and female ; and who can fail to perceive herein the greatness of his art, as well as the grace which had been imparted to

* Read flame (*biagia*) for brass.

him by Nature, when they moved the hearts of the ignorant almost as they do those of men well versed in the matter? Foreshortenings are here seen which give the appearance of the most perfect relief, with a softness and delicacy of every part, showing what paintings may be when executed by good and true masters: but in some of these figures there are outlines turned by Michelagnolo in a manner that could have been effected by no other than himself. At a word, we have here the true Last Judgment, the real Condemnation, the effectual Resurrection. For our arts this work is, in short, the example of a great picture sent by God to men, thereby to show them how Fate proceeds, when spirits of the highest order are permitted to descend to this our earth, bearing within them the grace and divinity of knowledge as innate, or a part of themselves. Those who had before believed themselves acquainted with Art, are led bound and captive by the work before us, and, gazing on the evidence of power in these contours, they tremble and fear as if some great Spirit had possessed himself of the art of design; examining these labours, their senses are bewildered at the mere thought of what other paintings executed, or to be executed, must needs appear, when brought into comparison with this paragon.

Truly fortunate may that man be esteemed, and happy are his recollections, who has been privileged to behold this wonder of our age. Thrice blessed and fortunate art thou, O Paul III., since God has permitted that under thy protection was sheltered that renown which the pens of writers shall give to his memory and thine own! How highly are thy merits enhanced by his art! A great happiness, moreover, has most assuredly been his birth for the artists of our time, since by the hand of Michelagnolo has been removed the veil of all those difficulties which had previously concealed the features of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture; seeing that in his works he has given the solution of every difficulty in each one of those arts.[216]

[216] Architectonically the Last Judgment is out of harmony with everything

At this work Michelagnolo laboured eight years.[217] He gave it to public view on Christmas-day, and (as I think) in the year 1541. This he did to the amazement and delight,

else in the Sistine Chapel; it has no relation to the decorative distribution of the walls, has no bordering of any sort, and forms a single picture from the vaulting almost to the pavement. Michelangelo was probably wholly indifferent to this, for no man ever centred himself more completely in his own artistic scheme with complete indifference to that of others. We cannot judge of the color, for the latter has been defaced and altered, but it is probable that it was at least dignified if monotonous, and did not offend by any of the crude tones added by the "breeches maker" or other over-painters. As to the composition Paul Mantz says that we must not call it confused, that it is rather symmetrical almost to a mathematical point. Mantz is only half right here; it is quite true that it is divided up into absolutely symmetrical groups, but in a work of art *what seems*, counts, with the onlooker, *not what is*, and the Last Judgment, though mathematically ordered, seems confused; the eye of the spectator wanders aimlessly all over it—some of the groups even appear huddled and some of the figures sprawling. The giant thorax and small elegant head which give such heroic dignity to the figures in the vaulting here are exaggerated past reason; the closely cropped, tiny heads of the damned in Charon's boat, surmounting bodies so huge, so gnarled, and so regularly seamed with ridges of muscle that they are like relief maps, make the figures appear like so many prize-fighters. In the frescoes of the vaulting, nature and science supplement each other in complete equilibrium, but here all is science. There is power, force, impetuosity, but little of nature; the figures of the vaulting are portentous, but these are gloomy and even ferocious; there is no place here for earth or sea, only for bodies, and the whole wall seems to be alive and writhing. On the whole this fresco is the first unmistakable indication that the most tremendous personality which ever expressed itself plastically was not exempt from the common lot of artistic evolution; here Michelangelo becomes decadent. Such is the effect produced by the Last Judgment as you look at the original. If, on the contrary, you examine the photographs, particularly the isochromatic photographs of Alinari (the carbon photographs have a comparative woolliness of surface which make the small detail less distinguishable), single figures are discovered which possess great beauty, even delicacy, both as to body and head. Certain male figures of saints leaning forward and pointing on either side above the Christ, certain female figures in the upper left-hand portion of the picture, for instance the naked woman bending forward from her hips, but backward from the spectator, would, if photographed singly, become the subjects of our hearty admiration. Among the works treating of the Last Judgment, M. de Montaiglon in *L'Œuvre et la Vie*, p. 336, cites nearly a dozen authors, all of them dating from the early part of the century. Eugène Délacroix is, however, always worth reading (see *Sur le jugement Dernier, Apropos de la copie de Sigalon, Revue des Deux Mondes*, August, 1837).

[217] From 1534 to 1541.

not of Rome only but of the whole world. For myself, I, who was at Venice that year, and went to Rome to see it,[218] was utterly astounded thereby.[219]

Now Pope Paul had caused a Chapel, called the Pauline, to be built by Antonio da Sangallo, as we have before related, in imitation of that erected by Nicholas V., and he now resolved that Michelagnolo should there paint two large stories;[220] in one of them our artist accordingly depicted the Conversion of St. Paul:[221] Our Saviour Christ is seen in the air above, with a multitude of angels, nude figures, exhibiting the most graceful movements. On the earth beneath them lies Paul, fallen from his horse, stunned and bewildered; some of the soldiers standing around are about to raise him up, while others, terrified by the voice and the majesty of Christ, are betaking themselves to flight: their movements and attitudes are of singular beauty; the horse likewise, endeavouring to fly from the place, appears to hurry after him the servant who is seeking to restrain the velocity of his course; the whole story indeed offers evidence of extraordinary power and design. In the second picture is the Crucifixion of St. Peter, a most beautiful figure bound naked to the Cross. The executioners have made a hole in the earth wherein they are about to fix the cross, that the martyr may remain crucified with his feet in the air; a picture full of fine thought and consideration.

[218] The door end of the Sistine Chapel contains two frescoes by followers of Michelangelo, Enrico Fiammingo and Matteo de Leve.

[219] Marcello Venusti executed a copy for Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, it is now at Naples, is 2.65 metres high, and is painted in oil. There is a copy by Sigalon, executed 1834-36, in the old chapel of the Petits-Augustins, in the École des Beaux-Arts at Paris. For details see Charles Blanc's *École Florentine* (*Michelangelo Buonarroti*, pp. 90, 91). See also note 216 of this life.

[220] The frescoes were probably begun in October, 1542, and were finished seven years later. They are more injured by smoke and time than the Sistine paintings.

[221] In this fresco of the Conversion of Saint Paul exaggeration, which was Michelangelo's most dangerous tendency, is pushed to its utmost point, so that this work shows only too plainly the failing powers of old age, and becomes unpleasant, even in parts offensive. There are drawings at Oxford and in the British Museum for figures in this picture.

The attention of Michelagnolo was constantly directed towards the highest perfection of art, as we have said elsewhere; we are therefore not here to look for landscapes, trees, buildings, or any other variety of attraction, for these he never regarded; perhaps because he would not abase his great genius to such matters. These were his last pictures, they were painted in his seventy-fifth year, and as he told me himself, at great cost of fatigue, seeing that painting, and more especially fresco, is not the work of those who have passed a certain age. Michelagnolo now arranged that Perino del Vaga, a most excellent painter, should decorate the ceiling with stucco-work and painting after his designs, and to this Pope Paul III. consented; but the work being delayed, nothing more was done, as indeed has been the case with many undertakings, which the irresolution of artists or the indifference of princes has caused to be left unfinished.[222]

Pope Paul had begun to fortify the Borgo, and had called Antonio Sangallo, with many of the Roman nobles, to counsel in that matter, but knowing that Michelagnolo had directed the fortifications of San Miniato at Florence, he determined, after many disputes, to ask his opinion also. Thinking differently to Sangallo and most of the others, Michelagnolo nevertheless uttered his thoughts plainly, when Sangallo told him that sculpture and painting were his arts, and not fortification: to this Michelagnolo replied, that of sculpture and painting he knew but little; of fortification, on the contrary, the much he had thought of it, with what he had accomplished, had taught him more than had ever been known by Sangallo and all his house put together. He then proceeded, in the presence of all, to point out the errors that had been committed. One word calling forth another, the Pope was compelled to impose silence on every one; but no long time afterwards, Michelagnolo brought the whole

[222] Paul III. appointed an official guardian to keep the frescoes free from dust and smoke in both the Sistine and Pauline Chapels. Michelangelo's old servant, Urbino, was the first incumbent of this office, which does not appear to have been kept up after Paul's death.

fortification of the Borgo, designed in such sort as to throw light over all that remained to be done; and this, opening the eyes of each person concerned, caused the great gate of Santo Spirito, designed by Sangallo, and then near its conclusion, to be discontinued and to remain unfinished.[223]

The active spirit of Michelagnolo could not endure to continue unoccupied; and not being able to paint any longer, he set himself to work on a piece of marble, whence he proposed to extract a Pietà,[224] consisting of four figures larger than life; doing this for his amusement and pastime as he said, and because the use of the hammer kept him in health. Our Saviour Christ, as taken from the Cross, is supported by the Virgin Mother, who is powerfully aided by Nicodemus, a figure standing beneath, with the feet firmly fixed on the earth. One of the Maries also, perceiving that the powers of Our Lady are about to fail, comes also to her aid, as, overcome by her grief, she can no longer support the form of her Son. A dead body equal to this of Christ could not possibly be found; sinking with the limbs in perfect abandonment, the attitude is different from that of any other, not of Michelagnolo's own execution only, but of any that has ever been made. The work is such as has rarely been extracted from a single stone, it is a truly beautiful as well as laborious one, but, as will be related hereafter, it suffered

[223] Michelangelo began his work on these fortifications in 1545, being supported in his views by Francesco Montemellino, and in 1557 we again find the old sculptor as architect-in-chief with Jacopo Meleghino, who worked under his direction. The fortifications were eventually completed by Jacopo Fusto Castriotto, of Urbino. For details, see Amadio Ronchini, *Il Montemellino di Perugia e le fortificazione di Roma al tempo di Paolo III.*, *nel Giornale di Erudizione artistica*, Perugia, 1872.

[224] This work is now behind the high altar of the Cathedral of Florence. The stone selected for the group was one of the capitals of the Temple of Peace; the marble contained many flaws. After injuring the group by accident, Michelangelo began deliberately to break it to pieces, when Antonio, his servant, begged it of him. Tiberio Calcagni, with the sculptor's consent, bought it of Antonio, mended it, and sold it to Francesco Bandini, a Florentine exile, settled in Rome. Later it went to the new Medici Chapel, in Florence, and last of all, in 1722, to its present place. See Symonds, *op. cit.*, II., pp. 202, 203.

many mishaps, and ultimately remained unfinished; although Michelagnolo had intended this group to serve as his own monument, and to be placed at the altar near which he hoped to be laid to his final rest.[225]

In the year 1546,[226] it chanced that Antonio da San Gallo died; a Director for the fabric of San Pietro was required, and there were various opinions as to who should be entrusted with the office; at length, and, as I believe, inspired by God, His Holiness resolved to send for Michelagnolo. Being asked if he would undertake the work, the master replied that he would not, architecture not being his vocation; but when entreaties were found useless, the Pope commanded him to accept the trust, and to his infinite regret he was compelled to obey. One day among others that he had gone to the building accordingly, to see the model in wood prepared by Sangallo, and to examine the fabric, the whole party of the Sangallicans came to meet him, and in the best terms they could find, expressed their satisfaction at his appointment, remarking that the model be-

[225] M. Eugène Guillaume, the sculptor, speaks with authority (*L'Œuvre et la Vie*, p. 102 *et seq.*) upon the processes and methods of Michelangelo, and especially their relation to this Deposition which the famous French sculptor profoundly admires. He calls it the most pathetic of Michelangelo's works, saying that the idea of penitence exhales from it. He believes that the standing figure is not Joseph of Arimathea, but Michelangelo himself, who presses the Christ to his breast, looks out at us, and like Dante speaks to us of the Redemption and of the blood which it has cost. While convinced that Michelangelo's disdain of measurements, his manner of attacking the marble itself, and at once, chisel in hand, gave to his rough-hewn works a vitality, character, and poignancy not dreamed of in the work of those who chiselled by rule and measure, M. Guillaume believes also that this headlong haste often went too far, and gave the death-wound to the statue before it had yet struggled forth into complete life. The record of the injury done by a violent blow by the chisel to this Deposition, and of its final abandonment by the old sculptor, who, sleepless and feverish, worked at night upon it with a single lighted candle fastened to his cap, is a pathetic story of genius struggling against age and infirmity.

[226] Antonio da San Gallo died October 3, 1546, the post of architect-in-chief at St. Peter's was conferred on Michelangelo by a papal brief of Paul III., dated January 1, 1547. A brief of the same pope, dated twelve years earlier, September 1, 1535, had made Buonarroti architect, painter, and sculptor of the Apostolic Palace.

fore them was a field on which he need never want pasture. "You speak well," replied Michelagnolo, intending to imply (as he declared to one who was his friend) that the pasture was good for sheep and oxen and other animals who know nothing of art.[227] Nay, he would often publicly declare that Sangallo had left the building without lights, and had heaped too many ranges of columns, one above the other, on the outside; adding, that with its innumerable projections, pinnacles, and divisions of members, it was more like a work of the Teutons than of the good antique manner, or of the cheerful and beautiful modern style; he furthermore affirmed that fifty years of time, with more

[227] Bramante's original design consisted of a church in the form of a Greek cross with semicircular apses. The angles made by the arms of the cross were to have been filled with shrines and chapels, so that the exterior would have resembled a square. The whole was to have been surmounted by a shallow dome at the intersection of the arms of the cross, and small domes were to have crowned other parts of the building. The piers for the central dome were too weak as originally designed, and only a small portion of Bramante's work remains. Raphael altered the design, substituting a Latin for the Greek cross by lengthening the nave. Antonio da San Gallo was appointed as Raphael's assistant, and after the death of Raphael, Peruzzi became San Gallo's colleague. Peruzzi made a new model, keeping Bramante's main conception in view, but altering the details and rectifying many of the errors in construction. Unfortunately the scheme was not carried out, and when Peruzzi died, in 1537, Antonio da San Gallo remained as sole architect. He adopted many of Peruzzi's features, and added a large vestibule, a lofty central cupola, and two bell-towers. The design, as may be seen by the model in St. Peter's, which is 28 feet long, 18 feet wide, and 15 feet high, is exceedingly complex, and was a retrogression from the stately designs of Bramante and Peruzzi. Michelangelo's original plan called for a single order 108 feet high, this order to be surmounted by an attic of 32 feet, making the total height of the *façade* 140 feet. The church was again restored to the Greek cross, the piers, tribune, and the large order of pilasters were so far advanced as to forbid any change of height in the interior.

When Buonarroti assumed control he attempted to reduce the edifice to some kind of order, returning as far as was now possible, to Bramante's design and substituting a portico for the vestibule of San Gallo. He strengthened the pillars of the dome, simplified the form of the aisles, planned a porch formed by ten columns terminating in a pediment; the last part of the design was not carried out. He also finished the drum of the dome. The later architects who brought the church to its present condition were Giacomo della Porta, Carlo Fontana, Vignole, Pirro Ligorio, and lastly, Carlo Maderna and Bernini.

than 300,000[228] crowns in the cost, might very well be spared, while the work might be completed with increased majesty, grandeur, and lightness, to say nothing of better design, more perfect beauty, and superior convenience.

He made a model also,[229] to prove the truth of his words, and this was of the form wherein we now see the work to have been conducted;[230] it cost twenty-five crowns, and was finished in a fortnight; that of Sangallo having exceeded four thousand, as we have said, and occupied several years in the making. From this and other circumstances, it was indeed easy to see that the Church had become an object of traffic and a means of gain, rather than a building to be completed; being considered, by those who undertook the work, as a kind of bargaining to be turned to the best account. Such a state of things could not fail to displease so upright a man as Michelagnolo; and, as the Pope had made him Superintendent against his will, he determined to be rid of them all. He therefore one day told them openly that he knew well they had done and were doing all they could, by means of their friends, to prevent him from entering on this office, but that if he were to undertake the charge, he would

[228] Harford, in his Life of Michel Angelo Buonarroti (II., p. 87, note), considers that the *scudo d' oro* is here meant, *i.e.*, a coin weighing about fifty-two and a half grains, and worth 8*s.* 6*d.*, and in the Appendix to the same volume, p. 382, prints some interesting particulars furnished by Mr. Pfister, of the British Museum, relative to the value of Roman money in the year 1545.

[229] The model of the cupola was made by Maître Jean, a Frenchman, in one year; it was copied from a small clay model by Michelangelo. This model of the cupola and San Gallo's model of the church are preserved in an apartment called the octagon of St. Gregory, in the upper part of the basilica over the chapel of St. Gregory. Michelangelo left no models for the other parts of the church, and this may in part account for the fact that while the cupola was largely finished as he designed it, the other portions of the church were modified or completely changed.

[230] In this first year of office as Architect-in-Chief, 1547, Michelangelo wrote to his nephew, Leonardo, to have "Messer Giovan Francesco" measure for him the height of the dome of the Cathedral of Florence from the pavement to the lantern, and also the height of the lantern. It has been said that Michelangelo imitated the cupola of the Pantheon, but that of Brunelleschi was far more like his model both in its shape and in its concentric shells.

not suffer one of them to remain about the building. These words, thus publicly spoken, were taken very ill, as may readily be supposed, and awakened so much hatred against Michelagnolo, that this, increasing daily as the whole arrangement of the work was seen to be changed both within and without, permitted Michelagnolo to have no peace, his adversaries constantly inventing new methods of tormenting him, as will hereafter be seen.

At length the Pontiff issued a *Motu-proprio*,[231] by which he appointed him Superintendent of the fabric, with full authority to do or undo, decrease, extend, or change as it should seem good to him, and furthermore commanding that the whole government of those who were employed should be in his hands. Thereupon Michelagnolo, seeing the confidence which the Pope placed in him, desired to prove himself worthy thereof, and had a clause inserted in the *Motu-proprio*, to the effect that he performed his office for the love of God, and would accept no reward, although the Ferry of the river at Parma,[232] which had formerly been given to him by the Pope, had been lost to him by the death of the Duke Pier-Luigi, and he had received only a Chancery of Rimini, which brought him in but a small revenue, in its stead. But that circumstance he did not regard; and although Pope Paul more than once sent him money as a stipend, he would never accept any, a fact to which Messer Alessandro Ruffini, then Chancellor of the Pope, and Messer Pier Giovanni Aliotti, Bishop of Forli, have borne witness.

The model of the Church made by Michelagnolo was finally approved by the Pope, and this, although it decreased the circumference of the building, yet did in fact give it greater space, to the satisfaction of all who have

[231] See note 226.

[232] Piacenza rather; he did not obtain this ferry until 1537, and it was not remunerative, as a rival ferry was established; it was exchanged for a post in the Chancery at Rimini. Symonds (*op. cit.*, II., p. 41) cites documents showing that Michelangelo refused to profit by the benefice of Rimini.

judgment, although some, who profess to be judges, but in reality are not, are far from being pleased therewith. It was now found that the four principal piers constructed by Bramante, and left unaltered by Antonio da Sangallo, which had to support the weight of the Tribune, were too weak. Michelagnolo therefore, partly filled them up; and near them he made two spiral staircases, with steps of ascent so easy and so slightly inclined, that the asses used for carrying the materials to the summit could mount and descend them, while men could go up on horseback to the platform of the arches. He formed the first cornice over the arches of travertine in a circular form, a beautiful work, of the most graceful effect, and quite different from the others; nor could there be anything better of that kind. He then commenced the two great recesses of the Transept; but whereas, by the order of Bramante, Baldassare, and Raffaello, there were to be eight niches or tabernacles on the side towards the Campo Santo, as we have said, an arrangement followed by Sangallo, Michelagnolo reduced them to three, with three chapels, raising over them a vaulting of travertine, and a range of windows, giving full light, varied in their form, and of very magnificent effect. But as these are finished, and are besides to be published by engravings, as are all the designs of Michelagnolo and of Sangallo likewise, I will not give myself the trouble of describing them, which is indeed unnecessary. Let it suffice to say, that where our artist made changes he caused all to be constructed with the utmost exactitude, adding a degree of strength which should leave no pretext for any other to disturb his plans. And this was the foresight of a prudent man, for it does not always suffice to do well, unless further precaution be taken; seeing that the presumption and boldness of such as might be supposed—if you regard their words rather than their works—to know something, may cause many inconvenient changes.

Now the Roman people desired, under the favour of Pope Paul, to give some more decorous, beautiful, and convenient

form to their Capitol,[233] proposing to adorn it with columns, and flights of steps, having balustrades and broad stairs; to say nothing of the ancient statues wherewith it was to be further decorated. For this the advice of Michelagnolo was requested, and he made them a rich and beautiful design; this comprised a fine front in travertine, on the side of the Senate-house, towards the east namely, with a double flight of steps, ascending to a platform, whence you enter the middle of the Great Hall, the rich and varied balustrades of those steps serving at once as a support and a bulwark. And, for the further decoration of the same, he added antique figures of recumbent River-gods, nine braccia high, the Tiber and the Nile namely; these he has raised on pedestals, and between them there is to be the statue, in a large niche, of Jupiter.[234] On the south side, where is

[233] The initial performance in the constructions upon the Campidoglio was the erection of the equestrian statue of the Marcus Aurelius in the piazza in 1538. In 1546 Michelangelo began to reconstruct the Palazzo del Senatore, the palace was finished in 1568. Between 1550–55 were built the two staircases leading to the Tarpeian Rock and to the Ara Cœli, as well as the porticos which crown them; they were from the plans of Vignole. After Michelangelo's death the Palazzo del Senatore received its *façade*, built after Buonarroti's designs, and the Palazzo dei Conservatori was completed by Cavalieri and Boccapedali, and Martinô Lunghi's Campanile succeeded the mediæval tower in 1579, under Gregory XIII. In 1583 the groups of the Dioscuri, afterward replaced by the so-called trophies of Marius, were set up. Between 1592 and 1598, under Clement VIII., Michelangelo's projects were at last realized. Only the foundations of the museum of the Capitol existed until 1644, when, under Innocent X., Rainaldi completed it in ten years. See Eugène Müntz, *La Fin de la Renaissance*, pp. 338–46, who cites M. Michaelis, *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, 1891, II., p. 184 *et seq.* The architect, Charles Garnier, *op. cit.*, pp. 198, 199, although severely criticising certain details of the buildings upon the Capitol, praises the simplicity of lines, the porticos upon the ground floor, and finds the whole *façade* of the Capitol not only one of Michelangelo's best works, but one of the best specimens of the architecture of the time. The French architect even admits that the "*ordonnance d'oppositions de hauteurs dissemblables*" impressed him so much as to have been adopted by him to some extent in his *Loggia* of the Paris Opera House. Garnier ends his criticism upon the Capitol by the picturesque remark that it is not the work of an architect but rather of a "*maçon de genie*," adding that perhaps this alternative is even better, and that at all events it is apt to produce a more lively impression.

[234] The "Nile," now in the Vatican, was found in Leo X.'s time.

the Palace of the Conservators, and by way of bringing the building to a square form, there followed a rich and varied façade, with a Loggia of columns, and niches beneath, and here many antique statues are to be placed; doors, windows, and numerous ornaments are likewise in preparation, many of which are finished. A similar façade is to be erected opposite to this, on the north side beneath the Ara Cœli; and on the west, there is to be a flight of steps of very easy ascent, the whole surrounded by a balustrade; and here will be the principal entrance, which is further to be adorned by a range of pedestals, whereon the magnificence of those statues, in which the Capitol is now so rich, will be displayed.

In the centre of the Piazza, and on a pedestal of an oval form, is erected the Horse of bronze so much talked of, whereon there sits the figure of Marcus Aurelius, which Pope Paul III. caused to be removed from the Piazza of the Lateran, where it had been placed by Sixtus IV. By all these alterations and additions the edifice has now been rendered so beautiful that it merits to be accounted among the finest of Michelagnolo's works, although it is at present only in course of completion, not by himself, but by M. Tommaso de' Cavalieri, a Roman gentleman, who has been and is one of the most faithful friends of Michelagnolo, as will be related hereafter.

While Antonio da Sangallo lived, Pope Paul had permitted him to continue the building of the Farnese Palace; but the upper cornice on the outside was still wanting, and His Holiness now desired that this should be added by Michelagnolo, after his own design, and under his direction. That master, therefore, not wishing to disoblige the Pope, who esteemed and favoured him so much, made a model in wood, seven braccia long, and of the exact size which the cornice was to be. This he caused to be fixed on one of the angles of the Palace that the effect might be seen, when, as the Pontiff and all Rome with him were much pleased therewith, it was put into execution, and so much of it as

we now see was completed, proving to be the most beautiful and varied cornice ever erected, either by the ancients or moderns. On the death of Sangallo, Pope Paul desired, as we have said, that Michelagnolo should undertake the charge of the whole Palace, where he constructed the great window with its beautiful columns of vari-coloured marble, which is over the principal entrance, adding a large escutcheon, also in marble, and bearing the arm of Paul III. the founder of that edifice.

He continued the great Court also, constructing two ranges of columns over those first erected, with the most beautiful windows, and a great variety of rich ornaments, ending with the great cornice; all of these works being so beautiful, that this Court, by the labour of Michelagnolo, has now become the finest in all Europe.[235] Our artist likewise enlarged the great Hall, and made arrangements

[235] This grandest of Roman palaces, belongs partly to Antonio da San Gallo, who built the first and second stories, partly to Michelangelo, to whom are accredited the third story, the noble cornice, and the two upper stories of the court. The window over the main entrance has been considered an inharmonious feature, but the palace as a whole is splendidly picturesque and would probably have been finer had Michelangelo carried out his plans for uniting the Farnese and the Farnesina with a bridge; these plans, we are told, were made for Pier Luigi Farnese. Michelangelo, criticising San Gallo's part in the work, with a pedantry unusual to the old sculptor (says Symonds, *op. cit.*, II., p. 210), would not admit that one single merit existed in San Gallo's proposal for a cornice, and was not only severe but savage in his comments. This seems far worse when we remember, says the author cited, that Michelangelo's Laurentian Library lay open to the very same criticisms; he adds that, on the other hand, we must also consider Buonarroti's constant severity with himself and his modesty regarding his own work. Charles Garnier, *op. cit.*, p. 196, says of the famous cornice of the Farnese Palace that it is grandly composed, and that the details have a purity which is rare in the work of Michelangelo. He believes that the *proportions* of this noble cornice may really be due to Buonarroti, since a knowledge of proportion belongs to the arts of painting and sculpture and belonged especially to Michelangelo, but he is convinced that the *design* must have been made by another (adding that it is now generally accredited to Vignole, who was often employed by Michelangelo). Garnier adds that without discussing the probabilities, and relying only on his own instinct as an architect, he should say that Michelangelo did not draw the profiles of the entablature of the Farnese Palace since the work upon it was done at the opening of Buonarroti's career as architect, and had

for the vestibule, which he vaulted after a new manner, in the form of a half oval. It chanced that in this year an antique group of Hercules, in marble, standing on a mountain, and holding a bull by the horns, was discovered at the warm baths of Antoninus; a second figure is assisting Hercules, the group is seven braccia square: around the hill are nymphs, herdsmen, and different animals. The whole work is certainly one of great beauty, the figures being in full relief: it was adjudged to have been intended for a fountain, and Michelagnolo advised that it should be placed in the second Court, where, being restored, it might be used for the same purpose. This advice pleased every one, and by command of the Signori Farnesi, the group is now receiving the most careful restoration to that effect.[236]

It was at this time that Michelagnolo proposed the erection of a bridge, to cross the Tiber at the point where it would form a road from the Farnese Palace in the Trastevere, to another palace belonging to the same family; when a view might be obtained from the principal entrance on the Campo dei Fiori across the Court, and comprising the Fountain, the Strada Julia, this bridge, and the beautiful gardens, even to the opposite gate which opens on the road of the Trastevere; a magnificent idea, and one fully worthy of that Pontiff, as well as of the genius and judgment of Michelagnolo.

In the year 1547, Bastiano Viniziano,[237] the Monk of the leaden seal, departed this life; and as the Pope was then

he designed this entablature he would necessarily have continued upon somewhat the same lines and never could have been pardoned for the errors existing in the work at the Porta Pia and in some of the details of the Laurentian Library.

[236] This is the Farnese Bull, found in 1546 in the Baths of Caracalla at Rome, and now in the Museum of Naples. It is believed to be a work of the Rhodian sculptors Apollonius and Taureicus. The group was much restored, and Vasari's description of it is erroneous. It represents the two sons of Antiope, Amphion, and Zethus, avenging the wrongs of their mother by binding Dirce, who had treated her with cruelty, to the horns of a wild bull.

[237] Sebastiano del Piombo.

proposing to have the antique Statues of the Vatican restored, Michelagnolo favoured the Milanese sculptor, Guglielmo della Porta, a youth of great promise, who had been recommended to him by Fra Bastiano, and with whom Michelagnolo was himself much pleased; he presented him to Pope Paul, therefore, from whom Guglielmo received a commission to restore two of the Statues in question,[238] and Michelagnolo afterwards caused the office of the leaden seal to be conferred on Della Porta, who continued the restoration of the statues also, as we now see them in the palace; but, forgetful of all these benefits, Fra Guglielmo subsequently became one of the master's most eager opponents.

The death of Pope Paul took place in the year 1549, when Julius III. was elected High Pontiff; and Cardinal Farnese then commissioned Fra Guglielmo to construct a vast Sepulchre for his kinsman Paul III. The artist proposed to erect it under the first arch of the new Church beneath the Tribune. But this interfered with the plans of the architect, and was in effect not the proper place for the Tomb; wherefore, Michelagnolo judiciously advised that it should not be constructed there; this caused Fra Guglielmo, who thought our artist acted from envious motives, to conceive a bitter hatred against him, but time has proved Michelagnolo right, and the fault was all with Guglielmo, who, having the opportunity for producing a fine work, failed to make use of it, as I shall mention further elsewhere, and can here plainly show. For it chanced that in the year 1550, I had gone to Rome by order of Pope Julius III., there to enter the service of that Pontiff, and the more gladly as I could thus be near Michelagnolo, when I took part in the council held respecting that matter of the Tomb, which Michelagnolo wished to have placed within one of those niches, where now stands the Column of the Possessed, and which was indeed its proper position. I had also laboured to secure from Pope Julius the selection of

[238] Among the statues thus restored was the Farnese Hercules also found in 1540 in the *Thermæ* of Carcalla.

the opposite niche as the place of his own sepulchre, which was to correspond in manner with that of Paul III., but the opposition of Fra Guglielmo caused his own work to remain unfinished,[259] while the construction of that of Pope Julius was likewise prevented; results which had all been predicted by Michelagnolo.

In the same year Pope Julius resolved to erect a marble chapel in San Pietro-a-Montorio, with two sepulchral monuments, the one for his uncle Antonio Cardinal di Monte, and the other for Messer Fabiano his grandfather, who had laid the foundation of greatness for that illustrious house. For these works Vasari made the designs and models, when Pope Julius, who admired the genius of Michelagnolo and loved Vasari, commanded that the former should fix the price to be paid for those labours, and Vasari entreated the Pontiff to prevail on Michelagnolo to take the work under his protection. Now Vasari had proposed that Simon Mosca should be employed to prepare carvings for this Chapel, and that Raffaello di Montelupo should execute statues; but Michelagnolo advised that no carvings of foliage should be added, nor any decorations of that kind used among the architectural portions of the monuments, remarking that where there are marble statues there should be no other ornament. Vasari meanwhile was afraid the work would look poor; but when he afterwards saw it completed, he confessed that Michelagnolo had displayed judgment, nay, great judgment.

The master was also unwilling that Raffaello da Monte Lupo should have the commission for the statues, remembering that he had not acquitted himself well in those which

[259] This work was afterward finished and placed in the niche destined by Vasari for the tomb of Pope Julius; that of Pope Urban VIII. was erected by Bernini. In the niche to the left is the tomb of Pope Paul III., by Guglielmo della Porta, probably done under the supervision of Michelangelo. The tomb is one of the most impressive in the church, the figure of Prudence (which is called a portrait of Giovanella Caetani da Sermoneta, mother of the pope) and that of Justice (said to be modelled after Giulia Farnese) are picturesque and effective. See Rodolfo Lanciani, Pagan and Christian Rome, p. 246.

he had executed under his own guidance for the Tomb of Pope Julius II. He therefore preferred to see them confided to Bartolommeo Ammannato, whom Vasari was likewise seeking to put forward for that occasion, although Michelagnolo had a touch of personal dislike against him, as well as against Nanni di Baccio Bigio. But this displeasure, if we consider all things, had arisen from slight causes, these artists having offended from love of art rather than from a desire to wrong him. Being youths, that is to say, they had taken several drawings by Michelagnolo from his disciple Antonio Mini, but these were afterwards restored by the intervention of the Council of Eight, and the master himself had employed the intercession of his friend Messer Giovanni Norchiati, canon of San Lorenzo,[240] to save the boys from any further punishment. Michelagnolo was once talking to Vasari about this matter when the latter told him laughingly, that he did not consider the young men so very blameable, and would himself have taken, not some drawings only, but all that he could have laid hands on, acting from the love of art and in the hope of improvement only, seeing that those who would make progress must proceed with force of will, and should be rewarded for their zeal rather than punished as are those who steal money or property of that kind. The matter was thus turned into a jest, and the work being commenced that year, Ammannato went with Vasari to Carrara, to prepare the marbles.

Vasari was at this time in the company of Michelagnolo daily, and one morning in the Jubilee year, the Pope in his kindness gave them both a holiday, to the effect that they might accompany a cavalcade which was riding forth to visit the Seven Churches, and might thus receive the absolution together. In doing this they had much useful and pleasing discourse, while going from one church to another, respecting the arts and other vocations, and Vasari wrote the whole dialogue, which he intends to publish at some future day,

[240] Author of a commentary on Vitruvius and a vocabulary of the arts (never completed).

with other matters concerning art.[241] In the same year, Pope Julius confirmed the *Motu-proprio* of Paul III. in respect to the fabric of San Pietro, and although the Sangallican faction found great fault with what Michelagnolo had ordered for the building, the Pontiff would at that time hear nothing of all they could say; Vasari having assured him that Michelagnolo had given life to the edifice (as was the truth), and persuading His Holiness to do nothing in respect to his design for San Pietro, without the full concurrence of the master, a promise to which Pope Julius, having once given it, constantly adhered.[242] Nor would he suffer anything to be done without Michelagnolo's advice either at the Vigna Julia or the Belvedere. The flight of steps now used was at that time constructed at the last-mentioned palace, in place of the semi-circular staircase previously existing there, and which, having ascended eight steps, turned inwards and ascended eight more, as designed by Bramante. This was erected in the great recess in the centre of the Belvedere, but Michelagnolo now designed the beautiful quadrangular staircase with a balustrade of peperino marble, as we still see it.

It was in this same year that Vasari completed the printing of his book, comprising the Biography of the Painters, Sculptors, and Architects; but he had written the life of no surviving artist (although many were very old), Michelagnolo alone excepted.[243] He now presented his work to that master, who received it very gladly, many facts derived from his own lips having been recorded therein, for he, being of

[241] Nothing is known of this dialogue.

[242] Julius III. had more real affection for Michelangelo than had the other pontiffs, who perhaps loved him rather for the glory which they obtained from his works. But Julius III. abstained from making Michelangelo labor, in order not to tire him in his old age, saying that he would willingly give years of his own life to add to that of so great a man; and that if he survived Buonarroti, he should embalm and preserve his remains, that his body might be as lasting as his works. Finally he incited Condivi to write Michelangelo's life, and accepted the dedication of the book.

[243] In 1551 or 1550 (O. S.) the first edition of Vasari was published. This was the so-called *Editio Torrentina*. The second edition was published in 1568.

so advanced an age, and having so much judgment as well as experience, was well able to afford much information. No long time afterwards, having read the book, Michelagnolo sent Vasari the following sonnet, which he had written, and which, in memory of his affection, I think it well to add in this place :—

If with the chisel and the colours, thou
Hast made Art equal Nature, now thy hand
Hath e'en surpassed her, giving us her beauties
Rendered more beautiful. For with sage thought
Now hast thou set thyself to worthier toils,
And what was wanting still, hast now supplied,
In giving life to others; thus depriving
Her boast of its last claim to rise above thee,
Is there an age whose labours may not hope
To reach the highest point? yet by thy word
All gain the limit to their toils prescribed.
The else extinguished memories thus revived
To new and radiant life, by thee, shall now
Endure, with thine own fame, throughout all time.

Vasari, having soon afterwards returned to Florence, remitted the charge of laying the foundations at San Pietro-a-Montorio to Michelagnolo; but to Messer Bindo Altoviti, then Consul of the Florentines and a great friend of Vasari, the latter remarked that it would have been much better if the Tomb of Pope Julius had been erected in the Church of San Giovanni de' Fiorentini, Giorgio added, that he had already spoken on the subject to Michelagnolo, who wished to promote the change, seeing that this would be a good opportunity for completing that Church. The proposal pleased Messer Bindo, who, being admitted to much familiarity by the Pope, pressed it zealously on His Holiness, urging that it would be much better to construct the Chapel and Tomb in the Church of San Giovanni than at Montorio, because the Florentines, impelled by the motive for action thus presented, would at length be induced to supply the monies needful for the completion of the Church; seeing, that if His Holiness would make the principal Chapel, there

were merchants who would make six more, and so on by degrees, until all should be finished. The Pope changed his mind accordingly, although the model had been made and the price of the work agreed on; and going to Montorio, he sent for Michelagnolo. Thereupon Vasari, who was daily writing to the latter and obtaining intelligence of all that was going on there, in reply, received the following, dated August 1, 1550, wherein he notifies the Pontiff's change of purpose, and these are the words themselves as they came from his own hand :—[244]

"My dear Messer Giorgio,—With respect to the foundations at San Pietro Montorio, I write you nothing, seeing that the Pope will not hear of them, and I know you are well advised thereof by your man that is here. But I desire to tell you what follows, and that is, that yesterday morning the Pope having repaired to the said Montorio, sent for me: I met him on the bridge as he was returning, and had a long conversation with him in regard to the Tombs confided to you. At length he told me that he had determined not to construct them on the Mount, but in the Church of the Florentines, desiring to have my opinion and designs for the same; whereupon I encouraged him in that purpose, considering that the Church would thus be finished. Respecting your last three letters, I have no pen that can reply to such high matters; but if I should rejoice to be what you make me, it would be principally that you might have a servant who should be worth something. Yet why should I marvel that you, being the restorer to life of dead men should add life to those who are still living? But to shorten my words, such as I am, I am wholly yours,

"Michelagnolo. *Rome.*" [245]

[244] The letters which Vasari reproduces are mutilated, as he abridged and "edited" them according to the end he had in view. For the letters in their entirety, see Milanesi's *Lettere di Michelangelo Buonarroti*, Florence, 1875. The real degree of Vasari's intimacy with Michelangelo is unknown, but there seems to have been real friendliness on the part of the sculptor, and veneration on that of Giorgio.

[245] Michelangelo then sent Vasari the sonnet translated above.

While these affairs were in course of arrangement and the Florentines in Rome were labouring to raise money, certain difficulties arose; there was nothing concluded and the matter began to cool. But Vasari and Ammannato had now caused all the marbles to be excavated at Carrara, whereupon they were sent to Rome, and Ammannato with them, Vasari writing by him to Buonarroti, desiring the latter to get an order from the Pope as to where the work was to be executed, and having received it, to let the foundations be laid. As soon as Michelagnolo had read this letter, he spoke to our Lord the Pope, and wrote to Vasari as follows:—

"My dear Messer Giorgio,—As soon as Bartolommeo had arrived, I went to speak to the Pope, and seeing that he wished the Tombs to be at Montorio, I began to look out for a builder from San Pietro. But when Tantecose [246] heard of it, he desired to choose one after his own mind; whereupon I withdrew, not wishing to struggle with one who commands the winds, and who is so light-minded a man that I think it better not to involve myself in any question with him. At all events, the Church of the Florentines is no longer to be thought of. Return as soon as you can; and, meanwhile, fare you well. Nothing further remains to say, 15th Oct. 1556."

Michelagnolo called the Bishop of Forlì [247] *Tantecose*, because he liked to meddle with every kind of matter; being principal chamberlain to the Pope, he had under his care all the medals, jewels, cameos, small figures in bronze, and other things of similar kind, but he would fain have had everything depend on himself. Michelagnolo avoided him carefully, finding the Bishop's meddling always unfriendly to himself, and fearing lest the ambition of the prelate

[246] *Tantecose* means, literally, "so many things;" the name implies fussiness, importunity; above all, officiousness.

[247] Bottari suggests that probably Messer Pier Giovanni Aliotti is here meant.

should involve him in some trouble. Be this as it may, the Florentines in Rome lost an excellent occasion for completing their Church. God knows when they may have such another, and the failure gave me indescribable vexation. I would not omit the mention of the matter, desiring to show how constantly Michelagnolo sought to benefit those of his country as well as to assist his friends and brother artists.

Scarcely had Vasari returned to Rome, and the year 1551 had not well commenced, before the Sangallican faction had formed a plot against Michelagnolo, making interest to prevail on the Pope to assemble all concerned in the building of San Pietro, declaring, with false calumnies, that they could show His Holiness how Michelagnolo was spoiling the edifice. He had constructed the recess of the King, where the three chapels are that is to say, and had placed three windows in the upper part; but these people, not knowing what he was proposing to do in the vaulting, with their feeble judgment had given the old Cardinal Salviati, and Marcello Cervino, who was afterwards Pope,[248] to understand that San Pietro would be left with insufficient light. All being assembled accordingly, the Pope told Michelagnolo that the deputies declared that part of the church to be unduly deprived of light, when the master replied that he would like to hear those deputies speak. "We are the deputies," replied Cardinal Marcello; and Michelagnolo rejoined, "Monsignore, in the vaulting above, and which is to be of travertine, there are to go three other windows."—"You have never told us so," returned the Cardinal; to which Michelagnolo responded, "I neither am nor will be obliged to tell either your lordship or any other person what I intend or ought to do for this work; your office is to procure money, and to take care that thieves do not get the same; the designs for the building you are to leave to my care." Then turning to the Pope, he said,

[248] Giovanni Salviati, called the Elder, to distinguish him from his brother Bernardo, afterward Cardinal. Cervini became Pope [but lived only a few weeks] as Marcellus II.

"Holy Father, if the labours I endure do not benefit my soul, I am losing my time vainly for this work;" to which the Pope, who loved him, replied, laying his hands on the shoulders of the master, "You will be a gainer both for your soul and in the body; do not doubt it."

Having rid himself of those who desired to unseat Michelagnolo, the love of the Pope for that master increased daily, and he commanded that Vasari, as well as himself, should repair to the Vigna Julia, on the very day following that of the assembly above described. Here the Pontiff had much conversation with them, discussing all the admirable improvements since effected there, nor did he meditate or decide on any work of design without the opinion and judgment of Michelagnolo. And among other occasions, that artist once going thither, as he frequently did, with Vasari, they found the Pope, with twelve cardinals, by the Fountain of the Aqua Vergine, when His Holiness would compel Michelagnolo to be seated near him, however humbly he excused himself, the Pontiff always doing every possible honour to his genius.

Pope Julius likewise made him prepare the model for a palace, which His Holiness wished to build near San Rocco, proposing to make the Mausoleum of Augustus serve as a part of the masonry; nor would it be possible to find the design of a façade more varied, original, rich or beautiful than is this, seeing that Michelagnolo, as may be remarked in all his works, would never restrict himself to any laws, whether ancient or modern, as regarded architecture, he being one who had ever the power to invent things no less beautiful than varied and original. This model is now in the possession of the Duke Cosimo de' Medici, to whom, when he went to Rome, it was given by Pope Pius IV., and who has deposited it among his most valued possessions. This Pontiff regarded Michelagnolo so highly that he constantly defended him against all the Cardinals and others who sought to do him injury. He also required every other artist, however able or distinguished, to wait on Michel-

agnolo at his own house: nay, his consideration for our artist was so great that, fearing to demand too much, he refrained from asking many a work, which the master, notwithstanding his age, might very well have performed.

In the time of Pope Paul III. Michelagnolo had received a commission from that Pontiff to repair the foundations of the Bridge of Santa Maria,[249] which had been weakened by time and the perpetual flow of the waters. The piers had been carefully repaired, or rather refounded, by means of coffer-dams, and a great portion of the work had been concluded, at a great expense for timber and travertine. Under the pontificate of Julius III. there was question in the Council of bringing this bridge to an end: certain among those present proposing that the architect, Nanni di Baccio Bigio, should finish it by contract, they alleging that it would thus be done in a short time and at small cost. The Clerks of the Chamber pretended, moreover, that this would be a relief to Michelagnolo, who was now old, and cared so little for the matter that the work, at the rate it then proceeded, could never be brought to an end. The Pope was no lover of disputes, and not thinking of the consequences that might ensue, he gave the desired authorization, bidding them manage the matter as an affair of their own. The fabric, with all the materials collected, was then committed, without Michelagnolo knowing anything of what was going forward, to Nanni, who had full power to treat it as he pleased, when he not only neglected the precautions needful to the security of the foundations, but even removed and sold a great part of the blocks of travertine with which the bridge had been anciently strengthened and paved (a thing which greatly added to the stability and duration of the structure), supplying the place of those blocks with gravel, and materials of similar kind, so that there was no want of solidity in appearance. Nanni also made bulwarks

[249] Michelangelo superintended this work, which ceased at the death of the Pope, in 1548, but in 1551 Nanni di Baccio Bigio received the contract. Milanesi, VII., p. 234, note 3.

and other external defences, causing the Bridge to be seemingly well restored, while in fact it had been much weakened and deteriorated. Five years afterwards, however, and when the flood of 1557 came down, the whole fabric fell to ruin, in such a manner as to prove the error of judgment which the Clerks of the Chamber had committed, and the injury which Rome had suffered from their disregard of Michelagnolo's advice. He had indeed frequently predicted the ruin of the bridge to his friends, and I remember that when we were one day crossing it on horseback, he said, "Giorgio, this bridge shakes beneath us, let us be gone, that it may not fall while we are on it."[250]

But to return to a subject before touched on: when the work of Montorio was, to my great satisfaction, completed, I returned to Florence to the service of Duke Cosimo; this was in the year 1554. The departure of Vasari grieved Michelagnolo, as indeed it did Giorgio, and as no day passed wherein the adversaries of the master did not labour to vex him, now in one way and now in another, so did these two not fail to write to each other daily. In the April of the same year Vasari gave Michelagnolo notice, that a son had been born to his nephew Lionardo, the child, whom Giorgio had accompanied to his baptism, having been attended by a most honourable train of noble ladies, and receiving the name of Buonarroto. To this letter Michelagnolo replied by the following:—

"My dear Friend Giorgio,—I have felt much pleasure in reading your last, seeing that you still remember the poor old man, and also because you were present at the triumph of which you write, and have seen the birth of another Buonarroto. For this intelligence I thank you as much as I can or may, although I am displeased by so much pomp, seeing that no man should laugh when the whole world is in tears. I think, too, that Lionardo should not rejoice so much over the birth of one who is but beginning to live;

[250] This now ruined bridge is known as the Ponte Rotto.

such joy should be reserved for the death of one who has lived well. Do not be surprised if I have not replied immediately; and for the many praises you send me, if I could only deserve one of them, I should then think that in giving myself to you, soul and body, I might perhaps have given you something that might, in some small measure, repay the much wherein I am your debtor; but I must acknowledge you my creditor for more than I can ever pay, and being old I have now no hope of acquitting myself. In the next life we may nevertheless regulate our account, wherefore I pray you to take patience, and am wholly yours. Things here stand much as before." *

So early as the time of Paul III. Duke Cosimo had sent Tribolo to Rome to try if he could persuade Michelagnolo to return to Florence, there to finish the Sacristy of San Lorenzo; but the master had excused himself, saying that he was become old, might no longer endure the fatigue of labour, and could not leave Rome. Tribolo then inquired as to the steps for the Library of San Lorenzo, for which Michelagnolo had caused many of the stones to be prepared, but for which no model, nor any certain indication of the form in which they were to be constructed, could be found. It is true that there were some few sketches of pavement and other things in *terra*, yet the correct and final design of the work could not be ascertained. But not all the entreaties of Tribolo, although he brought in the name of the Duke, could move Michelagnolo to say more than that he did not remember.

The Duke then commanded Vasari to write to the master, since it was hoped that for love of him Michelagnolo would perhaps say something which might enable them to bring the work to conclusion. Vasari wrote to him accordingly as the Duke desired, adding, that of all which had to be

* Mrs. Foster in her notes quotes a German translator as rendering these words, *e le cose di qua stan pur cosi* thus, "*und so geht's in der Welt;*" this seems a truer translation, though either may be correct.

done Vasari was to be the director, and would do everything with the utmost fidelity, taking care of every minutia, as of a work of his own. To this Michelagnolo replied by sending the plans for the work in a letter written by his own hand on the 28th of September, 1555.

"MESSER GIORGIO, MY DEAR FRIEND,—About the staircase whereof there has been so much said, believe that if I could remember how I had arranged it I should not require so many entreaties. There is a certain stair that comes into my thoughts like a dream; but I do not think it is exactly the one which I had planned at that time, seeing that it appears to be but a clumsy affair; I will describe it for you here nevertheless. I took a number of oval boxes, each about one palm deep, but not of equal length and breadth. The first and largest I placed on the pavement at such distance from the wall of the door as seemed to be required by the greater or lesser degree of steepness you may wish to give to the stair. Over this was placed another, smaller in all directions, and leaving sufficient room on that beneath for the foot to rest on in ascending, thus diminishing each step as it gradually retires towards the door; the uppermost step being exactly of the width required for the door itself. This part of the oval steps must have two wings, one right, the other left. The steps of the wings to rise by similar degrees, but not to be oval in form. The ascent by the middle flight, from the centre to the upper part, shall be for the Signore; the turn of the wings must be towards the wall. But from the centre downwards to the pavement, they shall be kept at the distance of about three palms, in such sort that the basement of the vestibule shall not be infringed upon in any part. What I am writing is a thing to be laughed at, but I know well that you will find something suitable to your purpose." [251]

[251] Michelangelo had left the work partially finished; Vasari, unable to seize his idea, constructed a fine staircase, but one differing from that intended by the sculptor. Buonarroti in his correspondence nearly always discusses some

In those days Michelagnolo wrote to Vasari, to the effect that, Julius III. being dead,[252] and Marcellus[253] being elected in his place, the faction adverse to himself was beginning to torment him anew. The Duke hearing this, and being displeased by those proceedings, made Giorgio write to Michelagnolo, bidding him leave Rome and come to Florence, where his Excellency would ask nothing more from him than occasional advice respecting his buildings and other works of art, but was ready to grant him whatever he might desire without wishing him to lay a hand upon anything. Messer Leonardo Marinozzi, private secretary to the Duke, was also the bearer of a letter to that effect from his Excellency, as well as of one from Vasari. But Marcellus having died, and Pope Paul IV. being elected High Pontiff, Michelagnolo, who had gone to kiss the feet of the new Pope, had received the most amicable offers from His Holiness; and desiring to see the completion of San Pietro, while he also thought himself bound in a certain sort to that employment, the master wrote to the Duke, excusing himself for that he could not then enter his service; and to Vasari he sent the following words:—

"MESSER GIORGIO, MY DEAR FRIEND,—I call God to witness how much against my will it was that I was put into the Fabric of San Pietro ten years since by Paul III.; had they subsequently continued to work at that edifice, as they then did, I should have now brought it to such a state that I might be permitted to think of returning home; but for want of money the work has been retarded, and that at a time when the most laborious and difficult part of it has come to be executed; insomuch, that to abandon it now would be no other than a great shame and sin, whereby I

matter of business, either relating to family affairs or to the practical side of the conduct of his art, and Perkins notes that out of the four hundred and ninety-five letters of Michelangelo printed by Milanesi not one passage gives indication of that deep poetic nature which showed itself in his sonnets, his sculptures, or his frescoes.

[252] Julius died in 1555. [253] Marcellus II.

should lose the reward of all those toils which for the love of God I have endured for the last ten years. I make you this discourse in reply to your letter, and because I have a letter from the Duke which makes me not a little to marvel that his Lordship should write with so much kindness; I thank God and his Excellency so much as I may and can. But I depart from my subject, I have indeed lost my memory and understanding; writing is besides a great trouble to me, seeing that it is not my vocation. The conclusion is this: to make you comprehend what would follow if I were to abandon the above-named building and depart hence. Firstly, I should rejoice many a worthless scoundrel; and lastly, I should cause the ruin, or perhaps indeed the final suspension, of the edifice."

Michelagnolo furthermore wrote to Vasari, telling him, for his excuse with the Duke, that having a house and many other comforts in Rome, worth some thousands of crowns, and suffering besides from many infirmities of age,* he was unfit for the fatigues of travelling, as Messer Eraldo,[254] his physician, to whom, after God, he owed it that he was yet in life, could testify. He added, that for all these causes he was unable to leave Rome, and had, indeed, courage for nothing more than to die and be at rest. In other letters from his hand, which Vasari has kept, he begs the latter to excuse him to the Duke; and did himself also write to his Excellency, as I have said. Nay, had he been in a condition to travel, he would have repaired instantly to Florence; and the kindness shown to him by Duke Cosimo had moved him so deeply that I do not believe he would in that case have found resolution to depart again.[255]

Meanwhile he pressed forward the works of San Pietro in

* In the original this reads, "*per renella, fianco e pietra, come hanno tutti i vecchi.*"

[254] Realdo Colombo, the famous physician.

[255] There is a letter to Vasari, written in May, 1557 (Milanesi, *Lettere*, *op. cit.*, No. 452), which shows that Michelangelo intended to make a secret and rapid visit to Florence.

various parts of the building, desiring to bring it to such a state that the arrangement thereof could no more be changed. About this time he was told that Pope Paul IV. bethought himself of having certain parts of the Paintings in the Chapel altered, His Holiness considering that the figures in the Last Judgment were shamefully nude.[256] When Michelagnolo, therefore, received a message from the Pope to that effect, he replied: "Tell His Holiness that this is a mere trifle, and can be easily done; let him mend the world, paintings are easily mended."

The office of the Chancery at Rimini was now taken from our artist, but he would not speak of the matter to His Holiness, who knew nothing about it, his Cupbearer having withdrawn it from Michelagnolo, with the intention of paying him a hundred crowns per month instead, by way of stipend, for his services at San Pietro; but when the first month of that stipend was sent to the master's house, he refused to receive the money. In the same year there happened to Michelagnolo the death of Urbino,[257] his servant, or rather his companion, for such he had become. This man had entered his master's service at Florence, in the year of the Siege, and after Antonio Mini, his disciple, had gone to France; he was a most zealous servant, and in the twenty-six years of his abode with his master the latter had made him rich, and had loved him so much, that although so old, he had nursed him in his sickness, and slept at night in his clothes beside him, the better to watch for his comforts. When Urbino died, therefore, Vasari wrote to Mi-

[256] Daniello Ricciarelli draped the figures and gained the name of the breeches maker; the figures of Saints Biagio and Caterina were repainted because the attitudes seemed objectionable to some of the churchmen.

[257] This was Francesco di Bernadino dell' Amadore or Amadori, a native of Castel Durante and a stonecutter by profession. He died in Rome in 1555. In many matters which did not relate to art Michelangelo allowed himself to be guided to a great extent by this faithful friend and servant, who had been with him since 1530. See for documents relating to Michelangelo's generosity to Urbino, E. De. Paoli, *Donazione di Michelangelo a Francesco Amatore detto Urbino e ad Antonio del Francesco, suoi domestici*, *L'archivio Storico dell' Arte*, I., pp. 76–80.

chelagnolo to console him, and the master replied in these words :—

"My dear Messer Giorgio,—I can but ill write at this time, yet to reply to your letter I will try to say something. You know that Urbino is dead, and herein have I received a great mercy from God, but to my heavy grief and infinite loss. The mercy is this, that whereas in his life he has kept me living, so in his death he has taught me to die, not only without regret, but with the desire to depart. I have had him twenty-six years, have ever found him singularly faithful, and now that I had made him rich, and hoped to have in him the staff and support of my old age, he has disappeared from my sight; nor have I now left any other hope than that of rejoining him in Paradise. But of this God has given me a foretaste, in the most blessed death that he has died; his own departure did not grieve him, as did the leaving me in this treacherous world, with so many troubles. Truly is the best part of my being gone with him, nor is anything now left me except an infinite sorrow. And herewith I bid you farewell."[258]

Under Paul IV., Michelagnolo was much employed in many parts of the fortifications of Rome; and for Salustio Peruzzi, to whom that Pontiff had entrusted the construction of the Great Gate of the Castello Sant' Angelo, now half ruined, as we have related elsewhere, he undertook to distribute the statues required for that work, as well as to see and correct the models of the sculptors. At this time the French army approached Rome, and Michelagnolo, believing that he might himself come to an evil end, together with the City, resolved to depart with Antonio Franzese, of Castel Durante, whom Urbino had left him at his death to serve him. He fled secretly from Rome accordingly, retiring into the mountains of Spoleto, where he visited several

[258] The entire letter, of which this is a part, is given by Milanesi, *Lettere*, *op. cit.*

abodes of the Hermits.[259] At that time Vasari wrote to him, sending him a little work which the Florentine citizen, Carlo Lenzoni, had left at his death to Messer Cosimo Bartoli, who was to have it printed, and dedicated to Michelagnolo.[260] It was just then finished, and Vasari, who despatched it to Michelagnolo, received the following in reply:—

"MESSER GIORGIO, MY DEAR FRIEND,—I have received Messer Cosimo's little book, and in this shall be an acknowledgment, which I beg you to present to him with my service.

"I have in these last days undertaken a visit in the Mountains of Spoleto, to the Hermits abiding there, at great cost of labour and money, but also to my great pleasure, insomuch that I have returned to Rome with but half my heart, for of a truth one finds no peace or quiet like that of those woods.[261] More I have not to tell you. I rejoice that you are well and happy, and recommend myself to your friendly remembrance. This 18th day of Sept., 1556."

Michelagnolo worked for his amusement almost every day at the group of four figures, of which we have before made mention; but he broke up the block at last, either because it was found to have numerous veins, was excessively hard, and often caused the chisel to strike fire, or because the judgment of this artist was so severe, that he could never content himself with anything that he did, a truth of which there is proof in the fact that few of his works, undertaken in manhood, were ever completed; those entirely finished having been the productions of his youth. Such for example

[259] Michelangelo was subject all his life to these sudden panics. Other instances of them have been noted in the life; it was, however, not the French, but the Spanish, army, under the Duke of Alva, which menaced Rome.

[260] This was *La Difesa della lingua fiorentina e di Dante, con le regole di far bella e numerosa la prosa.* Lenzoni left it unfinished; Giambullari completed it; the latter dying, Cosimo Bartoli had it printed (it was dedicated to Cosimo I.) and sent it to Michelangelo as a suitable gift for a famous student of Dante. Milanesi, VII., p. 242, note 4.

[261] Symonds (*op. cit.*, II., p. 304) notes this passage as being the only one in all of Michelangelo's letters which shows the least feeling for nature.

were the Bacchus, the Pietà of the Madonna della Febbre, the Colossal Statue at Florence, and the Christ of the Minerva, which are finished to such perfection, that a single grain could not be taken from them without injury; while the Statues of the Dukes Giuliano and Lorenzo, with those of Night, Aaron, Moses, and the two figures belonging to the latter, altogether not amounting to eleven statues, have still remained incomplete. The same may be said of many others; nay, Michelagnolo would often remark, that if he were compelled really to satisfy himself in the works to be produced, he should give little or nothing to public view. And the reason of this is obvious, he had proceeded to such an extent of knowledge in art, that the very slightest error could not exist in any figure, without his immediate discovery thereof; but having found such after the work had been given to view, he would never attempt to correct it, and would commence some other production, believing that the like failure would not happen again; this then was, as he often declared, the cause wherefore the number of pictures and statues finished by his hand was so small.

When he had broken the Pietà, as related above, he gave it to Francesco Bandini, and this happened about the time when the Florentine sculptor, Tiberio Calcagni, had been made known to Michelagnolo, by the intervention of that Bandini, and of Messer Donato Giannotti, for he being one day in the house of the master, where the broken Pietà still remained, inquired, after a long discussion, wherefore he had destroyed so admirable a performance? to this our artist replied, that he had been moved thereto by the importunities of Urbino his servant, who was daily entreating him to finish that work: there had besides been a piece broken off the arm of the Madonna; and these things, with a vein which had appeared in the marble and had caused him infinite trouble, had deprived him of patience, insomuch that he not only broke the group, but would have dashed it to pieces, if his servant Antonio had not advised him to refrain, and to give it to some one even as it was.

Hearing this, Tiberio spoke to Bandini, who desired to have something from his hand; and by means of the latter, Antonio received the offer of two hundred crowns in gold, on condition that he should prevail on Michelagnolo, to permit that Tiberio, aided by the models of the master, should complete the group for Bandini, by which means the labour already expended on it would cease to be lost.

Michelagnolo presented them with the broken marbles accordingly, and they instantly carried them away, when the parts were put together by Tiberio, certain portions, I know not what, being added: but the death of Bandini, of Michelagnolo, and of Tiberio himself, caused the work to remain unfinished after all. It is now in the possession of Pierantonio Bandini, son of Francesco, and may be seen at his Villa of Montecavallo.[262] But to return to Michelagnolo, it now became needful to find some other block of marble, that he might daily have opportunity for amusing himself with his chisel; he took a much smaller piece therefore, wherein he commenced another Pietà, but in a different manner.[263]

Now the architect, Piero[264] Ligorio, had entered the service of Pope Paul IV., and, busying himself with the fabric of San Pietro, he disturbed Michelagnolo anew, going about declaring that the latter had fallen into second childhood. This offended our artist exceedingly, he would fain have then returned to Florence, and was much pressed to do so by Giorgio; but feeling that he had become old, for he had then attained his eighty-first year, he excused himself to

[262] For this *Pietà* see note 224.

[263] In the Academy of Florence there is a casting of an unfinished group by Michelangelo, a man sustaining the body of the Dead Christ. Heath Wilson says the marble is in the court of the Palazzo Rondanini in Rome. The *Pietà* in Genoa (*Albergo de Poveri*), which is a medallion in high relief, is by many critics accepted as the work of Michelangelo. Symonds, *op. cit.*, II., p. 243, thinks it an imitation.

[264] Pirro rather; he was a Neapolitan architect and compiled several books on the antiquities of Rome; he attempted to obtain the direction of the works of St. Peter's, but the Pope entirely severed Pirro's connection with them.

Vasari, to whom, writing in his ordinary manner, he sent several spirited sonnets, setting forth that the end of his days was nearly come, that he must now be careful to direct his thoughts to suitable objects, that his letters must prove him to be at his eleventh hour, and that no thought arose in his mind which did not bear the impress of approaching death. He added in one of his letters, "God has willed that the burden of my life must be endured for some time longer. I know you will tell me that, being old, I am unwise to attempt the making of sonnets, but since they say I am in my dotage, I do but perform my proper office. I see well the love you bear me, and do you, on your part, know to a certainty that I would gladly rest my weak frame by the bones of my father, as you exhort me to; but if I departed hence I should cause great injury to the fabric of St. Peter, which would be a shame as well as heavy sin; yet when all is so far completed that nothing can be changed, I hope still to do as you desire, if indeed it be not sinful to disappoint a set of rogues who are expecting me daily to leave the world." With this letter there came the following sonnet :—

"Now in frail bark, and on the storm-tossed wave,
Doth this my life approach the common port,
Whither all haste to render up account
Of every act,—the erring and the just.
Wherefore I now do see, that by the love
Which rendered Art mine idol and my lord,
I did much err. Vain are the loves of man,
And error lurks within his every thought.
Light hours of this my life, where are ye now,
When towards a twofold death my foot draws near?
The one well-known, the other threatening loud.
Not the erst worshipped Art can now give peace
To him whose soul turns to that love divine,
Whose arms shall lift him from the Cross to Heaven.'

From this we see that Michelagnolo was drawing towards God and casting from him the cares of art, persecuted as he

was by those malignant rivals, and by certain among the Commissioners for San Pietro, who would fain, as he said himself, be making themselves more than rightfully busy in the matter. Vasari replied to Michelagnolo's letter, by order of Duke Cosimo, in few words, but still encouraging him to return to his own country; to his verses Giorgio replied by a sonnet of similar character. And Michelagnolo would now without doubt have left Rome very gladly, but he had become so weak, that although he had determined on doing so, as will be related hereafter, yet the spirit was more willing than the frame, and his debility kept him in Rome. Now it happened in June, 1557, that in the construction of the vaulting over the apsis (which was in travertine, and after Michelagnolo's own designs), there was found to be an error, he not being able to visit San Pietro so frequently as before, and the principal builder having constructed the entire vaulting on one centre, instead of using several, as he ought to have done. Thereupon Michelagnolo, as being the friend and confidant of Vasari, sent him the designs for the vaulting as made by himself, and with the words beneath written at the foot of two of them.

"The chief builder took the measure of the arch, which you will find marked in red, for that of the whole vaulting, but when he came to the centre of the half-circle, which is at the summit of the same, he perceived his error as here seen in the design marked in black. But with this error it is that the work has been proceeding, insomuch that a large number of the stones will have to be displaced; for in the whole vaulting there is no masonry of bricks, all is in travertine, and the diameter of the arch, exclusive of the cornice which borders it, is twenty-two palms. This mistake has been committed because my advanced age prevents me from visiting the building so frequently as I could wish, although I had prepared an exact model of the work, as I do of every thing; and whereas, I thought that part of the fabric was

finished, it will now not be completed during the whole winter. If a man could ever die of shame and grief, I should not be living now. I beg you to account to the Duke for my not being at this moment in Florence." [265]

On another of the designs, wherein Michelagnolo had drawn the plan of the building, he wrote as follows :—

"MESSER GIORGIO,—To the end that the difficulty of the vaulting may be the more clearly comprehended, it becomes needful to describe the construction from the ground upwards. It was necessary to divide it into three sections, corresponding with the windows beneath, which are separated by piers ; and these sections you see proceeding in the form of pyramids towards the inner centre of the highest point of the vaulting, being in perfect harmony with the basement and sides thereof. But it was needful that the work should be regulated by a large number of centres for supporting the arches, which should have been constantly changed on all sides, and from point to point, for all which no fixed rule could be given ; the circles and squares approaching the centre of their deepest part having to be diminished, and to cross each other in so many directions, and to proceed to so many points, that it is without doubt exceedingly difficult to find the true proportions for bringing all to perfection. Yet, having the model—which I make for all things, they ought not to have committed so great an error as to attempt constructing all those three sections with one centre for the arches ; a mistake which has compelled the removal of many stones, which we have still the shame and expense of taking down. The entire vaulting, with its various sections and ornaments, are, like the lowermost part of the Chapel, wholly of travertine, a thing not customary in Rome."

[265] The error was a costly one, as not only were new centrings required, but the travertine voussoirs had to be recut.

The Duke Cosimo, perceiving all these hindrances, no longer pressed Michelagnolo to return to Florence, declaring that the satisfaction of the master, and the continuation of San Pietro, were matters of greater interest to him than any other consideration, and begging that Michelagnolo would give himself no further anxiety. Whereupon the latter wrote to Vasari, telling him that he thanked the Duke with all his heart for that great kindness, and adding, "God give me grace to serve him with this my poor person, for my memory and understanding are gone to await him elsewhere." The date of this letter was August, of the year 1557. Thus Michelagnolo perceived that the Duke esteemed his life and honour more than his presence, which was nevertheless so highly acceptable to him: all these things, with many others which it is not necessary to repeat, we learned from letters written by his own hand.[266]

Our artist was now much pressed to make his final arrangements known, and as he saw that little was done at the building (although he had partly advanced the internal frieze of the windows, and the double columns outside, which form the circle above the round Cornice whereon the Cupola is to be placed, as will be related hereafter), he was

[266] From the beginning to the end of his life the Medici never wholly ceased to seek the service of Michelangelo. Catherine de' Medici wrote him a letter, dated Blois, November 14, 1559, and which is now in the Casa Buonarroti, asking him to make an equestrian statue of her husband, Henri II.; she laid especial stress upon her wish that the features should offer a good likeness (perhaps realizing the sculptor's indifference to portraiture). The statue was begun under the direction of Michelangelo by Daniel of Volterra, but the horse only was finished and cast; the latter was used for a statue of Louis XIII. (1639), which stood in the Place Royale until it was destroyed in 1793. Catherine's letter to Michelangelo was dignified and impressive. The following is a translation of one passage: "As I, together with all the world, know how excellent you are in your art, and how greatly you surpass all other artists of your time; how devoted, too, you have been since long ago to all of my House, and how plainly you have proved that devotion in Florence, in the rare monuments by your hand which adorn the mausoleum of my own people, I beg you to consent to undertake this work." Francis I. had also in earlier years (1545) written to the sculptor in the most flattering manner, asking a work from his hand, and Michelangelo had replied in a letter which is admirable in its quiet and dignified sincerity.

encouraged by his best friends, as the Cardinal di Carpi, Messer Donato Giannotti, Francesco Bandini, Tommaso de' Cavalieri, and Lottino;[267] nay, he was even constrained by them, to make at least a model of the Cupola; since, as he might perceive, the erection of the same was suffering delay. Several months elapsed nevertheless, before he could resolve on anything; at length he made a beginning, and by degrees produced a small model in clay, to the end that after this, and by the aid of the plans and sections which he had likewise prepared, there might eventually be made a much larger one in wood. Such a model was accordingly constructed in somewhat less than a year, and under Michelagnolo's guidance, by Maestro Giovanni Franzese,[268] who worked at the same with much zeal and care. The dimensions and minute proportions of this smaller structure, measured by the ancient Roman palm, corresponded in every particular with those of the great Cupola, all the parts being executed with extreme nicety; the members of the columns, the bases, capitals, doors, windows, cornices, ressaults, and every other minutia, being represented in such sort that no better work of the kind could be effected. It may indeed be affirmed that, not in all Christendom, nor indeed through the whole world, is there a grander or more richly decorated structure than will be that now in question.

And since we have taken the time to notify objects of so

[267] Giovanni Francesco Lottini of Volterra was the author of the *Avvedimenti Civili*, published in Venice and in Lyons in a French translation. Milanesi, VII., p. 249, note 1.

[268] This model brings up the interesting question whether Michelangelo proposed that the cupola should consist of two or three shells. Signor Gotti publishes two plans of the cupola taken from the measurement made from the model by the engineer Lieutenant-Colonel Castelli. The section drawing shows a third inner shell flattened like the vault of the Pantheon. This lower shell has no real constructive connection with the edifice. Symonds believes that Michelangelo during his own life decided not to use this third shell, which still exists in the model, since the author thinks that we should have heard of the change had Della Porta departed in so vital a point from Michelangelo's intention. Upon this question see also Dr. Durm, *Die Domkuppel in Florenz und die Kuppel der Peterskirche in Rom*, Berlin, 1887.

much less importance, I think it will be our duty as well as profitable to our readers, to describe the design according to which Michelagnolo proposed to construct this Church and Cupola; wherefore, with such brevity as we may, we will give a simple narration thereof, to the intent that if, which may God not permit, this undertaking should continue to be impeded in the lifetime of the master, as it has hitherto been, and should have a similar fate after his death, so shall my writings, such as they may be, avail to assist the faithful executors of his designs, and restrain the malignity of those presuming persons who may desire to alter them, they may also enlighten and give pleasure as well as aid to those who love and delight in these vocations.[269]

To commence then, I say that, according to the model[270] made under the directions of Michelagnolo, the internal diameter will be a hundred and eighty-six palms from wall to wall, reckoning above the great circular cornice in travertine, which passes around the inside and rests on the four double piers, or pilasters; these rise from the floor with their carved capitals of the Corinthian Order, being with their architrave, frieze, and cornice, also in travertine. This cornice turning around the great recesses, reposes on the four large arches, those of the three niches, and that of the entrance namely, which form the Cross of the Church. From that point upwards commences the Cupola itself, which springs from a basement of travertine, with a platform six palms broad, forming a wall or passage around the building. That basement presents a circle in the manner of a well, the thickness thereof being thirty-three palms eleven inches, the height to the upper cornice eleven palms ten

[269] Vasari's description, though confused, is fairly accurate and agrees with the model, as Michelangelo wrote able technical descriptions in his letters, which Vasari published; the present description was possibly obtained from the same source.

[270] The dome of St. Peter's measures three hundred and thirty-four feet to the apex, to the summit of the lantern four hundred and three feet, to the summit of the cross four hundred and thirty-five feet. Its diameter is one hundred and thirty-eight feet.

inches; the upper cornice is about eight palms, and it projects about six palms and a half. Through this basement there are made four entrances by which the ascent to the Cupola is commenced, and these are placed above the arches of the Tribunes, the thickness of the basement being divided into three parts. The innermost division measures fifteen palms, the outermost eleven palms, and that in the middle seven palms eleven inches, which make the thirty-three palms eleven inches before mentioned.

The middle portion of the basement is unencumbered and serves as a passage, its height is equal to twice its breadth, it has a coved ceiling, and in the line of the four entrances it has eight doors, each joined by four steps, one leads to the level of the cornice of the first basement, which is six and a half palms broad, another conducts to the inner cornice, eight and three quarters palms broad, which encircles the Cupola. Those doors give commodious access to the inside as well as outside of the edifice. The distance from one to another forms the segment of a circle of two hundred and one palms, and these being four, the entire circle is one of eight hundred and four palms. This basement, whereon repose the columns [271] and pilasters, and which forms the interior frieze of the windows, is fourteen palms one inch high, and on the outside there is a slight cornice above and below, which does not project more than ten inches, and is entirely of travertine. In the thickness of the third part, above that of the interior, and which we have described as being fifteen palms broad, there is a staircase four and a quarter palms broad in each quarter of the circle; it has two branches, the one turning one way and the other in the opposite direction; these staircases lead to the level

[271] The columns which surround the drum were not built as Michelangelo designed them, for the pillars, placed in pairs, do not touch the wall but, standing apart from it, really form a kind of corridor around the drum, and were intended to have their capitals adorned with pedestals which were to have been surmounted by statues. The pedestals would also have been connected with the spring of the vault by "inverted curves sweeping upward along the height of the shallow attic."

of the columns, above which, and immediately over the centre of the basement, there rise eighteen [272] large piers entirely of travertine, each adorned with two columns on the outside and two pilasters within, as will be mentioned hereafter, and between these the whole space is left for the windows which are to give light to the Cupola.

On the side looking towards the centre of the Cupola these great piers present a surface of thirty-six palms, but on the other side of nineteen and a half palms only, each has two columns on the exterior side, the dado at the foot of these measuring eight palms and three quarters, and eight and a half palms in height; the base is five palms eight inches broad, and . . . . palms eleven inches high; the shaft of the columns has forty-three and a half palms in height; the diameter is five palms six inches at the base, and above four palms nine inches: the Corinthian capital is six and a half palms high, or with the mouldings nine palms. Three quarters only of these columns are seen, the fourth being let into the corner, but in the centre there projects a pilaster, which forms an acute angle; between the pilasters is an entrance forming an arched doorway, five palms broad and thirteen palms five inches high, but above this level it is filled in with solid masonry even to the capitals of the columns and pilasters, being united with two other pilasters similar to those which form the acute angle beside the columns, and these decorate the sides of the sixteen windows constructed around the circle of the tribune, each window having a clear light twelve and a half palms wide, and about twenty-two palms high.

The windows are adorned on the outside by an architrave of varied character two palms and three quarters broad, and on the outside they are in like manner decorated with a similarly varied range of pediments and arches intermingled, being broader without and narrower within, for the purpose of increasing the light; they are lower also inside than

[272] As the drum is octagonal there could not have been more than sixteen piers.

out, to the end that they may throw light on the frieze and cornice. Each window is enclosed between pilasters corresponding in height to the columns on the outside, so that there are thirty-six columns without and thirty-six pilasters within;[273] over the pilasters on the inside is the architrave, which is four palms five inches high, while the frieze is four palms and a half, the cornice being four palms and two thirds, with a projection of five palms; and over this is a range of balusters, to the end that one may walk around in security. For the more commodious ascent to the platform whence the columns ascend, there is another flight of steps, with two branches, which rise to the summit of the columns, capitals, architrave, frieze, and cornice; so that this staircase, without interrupting the light of the windows, passes at the upper end into a spiral stair of the same breadth until it attains to the platform, whence the Cupola begins to turn.

All these arrangements, divisions, and decorations are so varied, commodious, strong, and rich, the base gives such effectual support to the two vaults of the Cupola which are turned upon it, the whole work is so admirably conceived and so ably executed, that the eyes of one who understands and is capable of judging, can see nothing more graceful, more beautiful, or more ingenious. As to the masonry, and all that respects the stability[274] of the work, every part has received the utmost strength and power of duration, while infinite judgment is displayed in the conduits for carrying off water by concealed channels, and in every other minutia: in a word, the whole work, so far as it has hitherto proceeded, is brought to such perfection that all other edifices shrink into nothing when compared therewith. Very

[273] Thirty-two.

[274] In 1680 a commission of architects was appointed to examine the cracks in the dome; they determined that these cracks were caused by staircases which Bernini had permitted to be constructed in the great piers. The plan of Niccola Zaboaglia was adopted to remedy the evil, and the drum was encircled with chains. The lantern was subsequently girded. See Poleni's *Memorie Istoriche della Gran Cupola del Tempio Vaticano*, Rome, 1748.

deeply it is to be regretted that those in power have not put everything into Michelagnolo's hands, to the end that before the death of this extraordinary man we might have had this immense and beautiful erection completed. Up to this point Michelagnolo has finished the masonry of the building, it now remains that we commence the vaulting of the Cupola, of which, since we have the model, we will continue to describe the arrangement as he has left it to us. The centres of the arches are directed on three points which form a triangle as below.

A B

C

The lowermost, or point C, determines the form, height, and width of the first half circle of the Tribune,[275] which Michelagnolo has ordered to be constructed of well-baked bricks, the thickness given to the wall being four palms and a half above as well as below, leaving a space in the middle which is four palms and a half wide at the foot, and this is to be occupied by the stairs leading from the cornice, whereon are the balustrades, to the lantern ; the arch of the interior of the second vaulting, which is broader below and narrower above, proceeds from the point B, which gives four palms and a half as to the thickness of the lower part. The last arch which represents the outer side, and is also enlarged below while it is restricted above, departs from the point A. At the upper part this arch gives the entire space in which are the stairs, whose height is of eight palms, so that men can walk upright therein, the thickness of the vault being gradually diminished to the extent that, while it has four palms and a half at the foot, it has three palms and a half only at the head. The vaultings, exterior and interior, are so well conjoined and connected that one supports the other ; of the eight parts into which it is divided at the base, four are left hollow above the arches, to diminish the weight, while the four others are bound and secured to the

[275] Vasari calls the cupola the *Tribuna*.

piers in such sort that their durability may well extend to all time.

The central stairs between the two vaultings are made in the following manner. Those which start from the point whence the vault springs have each two branches, and proceeding through one of the sections they cross each other in the form of the letter X, until they attain the summit of the vaulting over the centre of the arch C. Having thus ascended the half of this arch by a direct line, the remainder is commodiously surrounded by a flight which turns easily, until the summit, whence the lantern commences, is attained; around this there is a smaller range of double pilasters and windows similar to those in the interior, all corresponding with that diminution of the compartments which takes place above the piers, as will be described below.

Over the first great cornice within the tribune commence those concave compartments into which the vaulting is divided and which are formed by sixteen projecting ribs; these have the width of two of those pilasters which separate the windows placed under the vault of the Cupola at their base, but they constantly diminish up to the opening for the lantern: they rest on a pedestal of breadth equal to their own and twelve palms high, based on the platform of the cornice which passes around the tribune; over this and between the ribs are eight large ovals, each twenty-nine palms high, while above them is a range of rectangular compartments twenty-four palms high and somewhat broader at the lower than the upper edge; but where the ribs approach each other more nearly, then come circles, fourteen palms high, over each square, so that there are eight ovals, eight squares, and eight circles; each range being less deeply concave, as well as smaller than that beneath it: a most rich and beautiful design. Michelagnolo proposed to form the ribs, and framework of all these compartments in carved work of travertine.

There remains that we mention the superficies and ornaments of the exterior vaulting, which rises from a basement

twenty-five palms and a half high, reposing on a socle which has a projection of two palms, as have the mouldings at the head. The master proposed to cover the whole roof with lead, as was done for the old Church of San Pietro, he divided it into sixteen spaces, which commence at the point where the double columns end, and are placed between them; in the centre of each space he formed two windows, making, thirty-two in all, and serving to light the staircases between the two vaultings: to these he added projecting corbels supporting the segment of a circle; the whole forming a kind of roof which serves to throw off the rain. In the line of the columns and in the centre of the space between them, the ribs were made to spring from that point where the cornice ends, they were broader at the base and narrower at the summit; sixteen in all, and of five palms in width. In the centre of each there was a channel formed, a palm and a half broad, and in this were stairs of about a palm high, by which an ascent can be made to the opening left for the lantern. These are to be of travertine, constructed in such sort as shall defend them from the effects of the frost and rain.

The design for the Lantern makes that structure diminish in the same proportion with all the other parts of the work, becoming gradually smaller in exact measure, and ultimately closing with a small temple having round columns, which stand in pairs, as do those below; they have pilasters behind them, and rest on a socle, so that one can pass around from pilaster to pilaster, looking down upon the windows, the interior of the cupola, and the church. An architrave with frieze and cornice surrounds the whole, and projects over the two columns, immediately above which are spiral shafts and niches, rising together to the summit of the coping, which begins to contract at about one third of their height in the manner of a circular pyramid, until it reaches to where the ball and cross are to form the completion of the structure. I might here add numerous details, such as the precautions taken against earthquakes, the conduits for

water, the various lights and other commodious arrangements, but I refrain, since the work is not yet finished, and it shall suffice me to have touched on the principal parts. All the details, moreover, are within reach of the reader's eyes, and can be seen; this slight sketch will therefore be sufficient to inform such as know nothing of the building.

The completion of this model was a great satisfaction, not only to the friends of Michelagnolo but to all Rome;[276] he continued to direct the works until the death of Pope Paul IV., and when Pius IV. was chosen in his place, that Pontiff, although employing Piero Ligorio, who was architect of the Vatican, to construct the little Palace in the wood of the Belvedere, yet made many offers of service and showed much kindness to Michelagnolo. The *Motu-proprio* of Paul III., Julius III., and Paul IV., in respect to the fabric of San Pietro, was confirmed by His Holiness, who likewise restored a portion of those allowances which our artist had lost during the Pontificate of Paul IV. He employed him in many of his own buildings, and during his reign the works of San Pietro likewise proceeded busily. Among other things Michelagnolo was required to prepare the design for a monument to the memory of the Pope's brother, the Marquis of Marignano, which the Cavaliere Lione Lioni of Arezzo,[277] an excellent sculptor and the friend of Michel-

[276] No wonder it gave satisfaction, since Michelangelo's method of proceeding, without any real working drawings or models, has made it impossible in so many cases for other architects to carry out his ideas. The one architectural work of Michelangelo which unites the suffrages of all is the Cupola of St. Peter's. Symonds thinks that here the somewhat fantastic architect became severely mathematical, and even Garnier, though he might not agree with this last proposition, admits that the dome is "simple, noble, grand, and wholly extraordinary." He adds: "It is the curve given to the cupola which charms, captivates, and makes this coronal termination, which is unique in the world, a majestically harmonious creation. They have called this curve, which has been so often studied, a *chainette*, a parabola, an ellipse; it partakes of all these forms, but after all is said it remains a curve born of feeling and of a flash of genius." Garnier adds that although Michelangelo gave the thought and plan of the dome, it was Giacomo della Porta who carried out this curve after the death of the great sculptor.

[277] This interesting monument in the Cathedral of Milan is by a man who

angelo, was commissioned to construct in the Cathedral of Milan; as will be related in its due place.

About the same time[278] the Cavaliere Lioni made the Portrait of Michelagnolo, (a very close resemblance,) in a medal;[279] on the reverse of which, and in compliment to the master, was a blind man led by a dog, with the following legend:—

DOCEBO INIQUOS VIAS TUAS, ET IMPII AD TE CONVERTENTUR.

This pleased Michelagnolo greatly, and he presented Lioni with a model in wax of Hercules killing Antæus, accompanied by several of his designs. Of Michelagnolo

was a better sculptor than architect, and who, probably working out one of Michelangelo's sketches not drawn to scale, failed to properly comprehend its bearing. The monument was erected to the memory of Gian Giacomo and Gabriele Medici. See the interesting essay, Como and il Medeghino, in Symond's Studies and Sketches in Southern Europe.

[278] In 1560.

[279] Symonds gives careful consideration to the question of the portraits, and accounts as genuine: Bonasoni's engraving representing Michelangelo when seventy years old; Leoni's wax model for his medallion, and the completed medallion, showing Michelangelo when at the age of eighty; also eight bronze heads, all of them deriving directly from the two bronzes modelled by Daniele da Volterra (four of these eight heads being in the Museo Buonarroti, the Accademia, the Bargello, the private collection of M. Cottier in Paris). In these four heads the mask is joined to a complete bust in bronze. Three other masks of bronze are in the collection of M. Piot in Paris, at Oxford, and at Milan; a fourth (making the eighth head of the series) is in the Capitoline Museum; here the mask is joined to a bust of *bigio morato* marble. Professional critics believe that in these busts a mask made from the face of the master was followed. We know that a death mask was made, and that the bust in marble, carved by Battista Lorenzi for Michelangelo's tomb in Santa Croce, was taken from it. Venusti portrayed the master in a copy of the Last Judgment, now in Naples, and Daniele da Volterra painted Michelangelo in an Assumption in the Trinità de Monti, Rome. Symonds believes that the oil painting of the Uffizi may, perhaps, be that by Bugiardini, but thinks that all other easel portraits can only be doubtfully ascribed to the latter master, to Venusti, Jacopo del Conte, etc. C. E. Drury Fortnum (see Bibliography) admits as genuine seven portraits; the bust at the Capitol, a marble bust from a death mask, the medal of Leoni, the portraits in Volterra's Assumption, Venusti's Last Judgment, one by Venusti in Casa (Museo) Buonarroti, and the Bonasoni engraving. (It will be noted that some of the bronze heads mentioned by Symonds are practically *repliche*.) Herr C. Von Fabriczy, in the *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, quotes Gaetano Guasti, on

we have no other portrait except two in painting, one of which is by Bugiardini, and the other by Jacopo del Conte, with an alto-rilievo in bronze by Daniello Ricciarelli; but from that of the Cavaliere Lioni there have been made so many copies, that I have myself seen a vast number both in Italy and other countries.

In the same year, Giovanni Cardinal de' Medici, son of Duke Cosimo, went to Rome to receive the Hat from Pope Pius IV., when Vasari, who was his friend and servant, determined to go with him, remaining there willingly for a month [280] to enjoy the society of Michelagnolo, whom he held very dear, and visited constantly. Vasari had taken with him, by order of his Excellency, the model in wood of the Ducal Palace of Florence, together with the Designs for the new Apartments, which had been built and painted by himself. These models and designs Michelagnolo desired to see, since, being old, he could not visit the works themselves; they were extensive, varied, and replete with divers inventions and phantasies, exhibiting Stories of Uranus, Saturn, Ops, Ceres, Jupiter, Juno, and Hercules; each apartment being adorned with histories, in numerous compartments, of one of those Gods. The apartments beneath these were decorated with stories from the Lives of Heroes belonging to the House of Medici, beginning with Cosimo the Elder,[281] and proceeding through the times of Lorenzo, Leo X., Clement VII.; the Signor Giovanni,[282] the Duke Alessandro, and, finally, of Duke Cosimo. There were portraits of these

a portrait in the possession of P. Galletti, which Signor Guasti believes may be the Bugiardini portrait painted for Ottaviano de' Medici. The writer dates it 1532; it would, therefore, if authentic, be a portrait of Michelangelo at the age of fifty-seven, and would invalidate the so-called Bugiardini portrait of the Louvre, which, by its inscription, shows the sculptor as forty-seven years old; it would also render doubtful the authenticity of two others in the Baldi and Chaix d'Estaing families. See American Journal of Archæology, April-June, 1895.

[280] Vasari came in March, 1560.

[281] This is the interesting series of rooms used in part for public functions, and shown only by special request and at special hours.

[282] Giovanni delle Bande Nere, the father of Cosimo I.

personages, moreover, with those of their sons, and of many among the renowned of old times, whether distinguished for statesmanship, in arms, or for their learning, and being almost all portraits taken from the life. A Dialogue written by Vasari, in which the whole of these paintings were explained, and the connexion of the fables in the upper rooms, with the histories in the lower apartments set forth, was read by Annibale Caro to Michelagnolo, who was much pleased with the same. This Dialogue, Vasari proposes to publish, when he shall find time to do so.[283]

These things caused a discussion to arise respecting the Great Hall, which Vasari had desired to alter, because the ceiling thereof was too low, giving it a stunted appearance, and it had besides too little light. For these causes Vasari wished to raise it, but the Duke had not yet given him leave to do so : it was not that his Excellency feared the cost, but he dreaded the danger that there might be in lifting a roof thirteen braccia, yet, judicious as he was, he now agreed to have the opinion of Michelagnolo on the subject. The model of the Hall in its early condition was then laid before the master, as was also that of its improved state, with all the Stories designed as they were to be painted therein. Having examined all this, Michelagnolo was so much pleased that he became rather the partizan than the judge of the work, the rather as all the precautions taken for the security and promptitude of its execution were also apparent to his perceptions ; and when Vasari returned to Florence, Michelagnolo wrote by him to the Duke, declaring that his Excellency ought to execute that undertaking, which he affirmed to be worthy of his greatness.

Now Duke Cosimo himself also repaired that same year to Rome with his consort, the Duchess Leonora, when Michel-

[283] The title of the work, which was published in 1588, by Giorgio Vasari, nephew of our author, is : *Ragionamenti del Signor Giorgio Vasari, pittore e architetto, sopra le invenzioni da lui dipinte in firenze nel palazzo di loro Altezze serenissime*, Florence, 1588. It is published in Vol. VIII. of Milanesi's *Vasari*, pp. 11–225.

agnolo went to see his Excellency, who received him with much favour, causing him, from respect to his great genius, to be seated near himself, and conversing with him very familiarly of all the works in painting and sculpture which he had commanded to be performed, and still proposed to execute in Florence, more especially of the Hall above-mentioned. Michelagnolo then encouraged Cosimo anew to that undertaking, expressing his regret that he was himself no longer young enough to do him service, for he did truly love that Prince. Among other things, the Duke told him how he had discovered the method of working porphyry, and as Michelagnolo did not believe that possible, his Excellency sent him the Head of Christ, executed in porphyry by the sculptor Francesco del Tadda (as we have said in the first chapter of our *Theories*), which astonished him greatly. Michelagnolo visited the Duke several times afterwards, during the stay of the latter in Rome, to the great satisfaction of both; and when the most illustrious Don Francesco de' Medici, son of Duke Cosimo, was in Rome a short time afterwards, the master visited him likewise; being much pleased with the respect and affection shown to him by the noble Prince, who always spoke to him with uncovered head; so great was his reverence for that extraordinary man. To Vasari, Michelagnolo wrote, declaring, that it grieved him to be so old and infirm that he could do nothing for his Excellency, and he went about Rome looking for some fine piece of antiquity, that he might send the same to Florence as a present for that Signore.

About this time Pope Pius required from Michelagnolo a design for the Porta Pia, and the master made him three, all singularly beautiful. Of these the Pontiff chose the least costly, and this has been erected, to the great credit of the artist.[284] Finding, moreover, that His Holiness would

[284] The Porta Pia was begun in 1564 after designs by Michelangelo, and was never finished. In its present condition only the general features can be ascribed to him. The general outline is good, the decorative details are *baroque* and poor.

gladly have the other gates of Rome restored, he made numerous designs for the same,[285] as he also did one, at the request of Pope Pius, for the new Church of Santa Maria degli Angeli constructed in the Baths of Diocletian, when that building was brought into the service of Christians. The design of Michelagnolo surpassed those of many other excellent architects, by the singular consideration displayed therein for the requirements of the Carthusian monks, who have now nearly completed the edifice. His Holiness, with all the prelates and those of the Court who have seen it, have indeed been amazed at the judgment with which he has availed himself of the whole skeleton of those Baths, whereof he has made a Church with so beautiful an entrance, that the expectation of the architects has been much surpassed, to the infinite honour of the master.[286] He designed a Ciborium for the Sacrament also, which the Pope desired to have made for this church; it has been executed, for the most part, by Jacopo Ciciliano, an excellent artist in bronze, whose castings succeed so well and are so delicately fine, that they require but little chiseling, for in this respect Jacopo is a distinguished artist, and greatly pleased Michelagnolo.

Now the Florentines in Rome had often talked of beginning in good earnest to set about the Church of San Giovanni in the Strada Giulia. All the heads of the richest families among them assembled with that view, promising to contribute according to their means for that purpose, and a good sum of money was got together. A discussion then arose as to whether it were better to pursue the old plans or to have something newer and better; when it was at length

[285] It is not definitely known to what extent Michelangelo worked on the other gates of Rome.

[286] The architect Vanvitelli completely remodelled the church in 1749 and made so many changes that "criticism is reduced to silence upon his [Michelangelo's] work in this place." Symonds, *op. cit.*, II., p. 255. It may be added that in spite of eighteenth-century changes, and modern frippery, the effect is imposing, and something of antique grandeur still subsists in the impression of vastness which is conveyed by the *ensemble*.

determined that a new edifice should be raised on the old foundations; the care of the whole being committed to three persons, Francesco Bandini, Uberto Ubaldini, and Tommaso de' Bardi. By these persons an application for a design was made to Michelagnolo, to whom they represented that it was a disgrace for the Florentines to have spent so much money without any profit, adding, that if his genius did not avail to finish the work, they should be wholly without resource. The master assured them, with the utmost kindness, that the design they required should be the first thing he would lay hand on; remarking, moreover, that in this his old age he was glad to be occupied with things sacred, and such as might contribute to the honour of God. He furthermore declared, that it rejoiced him to do something for his own people, to whom his heart was ever true.

At this time Michelagnolo had with him the Florentine sculptor Tiberio Calcagni, a youth who greatly desired to improve in his art, and who, having gone to Rome, had also given his attention to architecture. Being pleased with his manners, Michelagnolo had given him the Pietà which he had broken, as we have said, with a head of Brutus in marble, larger than life, which he had copied, at the request of his friend Messer Donato Giannotti, for the Cardinal Ridolfi, from a cornelian of the highest antiquity belonging to Messer Giuliano Cesarino; a beautiful thing it is, and this he now desired that Tiberio should finish.[287] He could, indeed, no longer execute the more delicate parts of his architectural designs, and therefore employed Tiberio, who was a modest and well-conducted youth, to complete them under his direction. For this church, therefore, he now required him to take the ground-plan of the original foundation which he brought to Michelagnolo; the latter instantly caused him to inform the Commissioners, who did not expect to find anything yet accomplished, that he had fulfilled their wishes, showing them at the same time five

[287] This well-known bust of Brutus is in the Bargello, and is a grand, rough-hewn head which Tiberio has had the good sense and modesty *not* to finish.

plans of beautiful churches, which surprised them greatly. He then bade them choose one; but they refused, preferring to abide by his own decision. Yet, the master insisting that they should make a selection, they all with one accord declared for the richest; whereupon Michelagnolo is reported to have told them, that if they brought that design to completion they would do more than either Romans or Greeks had ever done in their best of times; words which certainly never proceeded from his mouth, neither at that time nor at any other, seeing that he was always most reserved and modest.

It was finally determined that Michelagnolo should direct the work, while Tiberio should execute it, and the Commissioners, to whom our artist promised his best services for the church, were entirely satisfied with that arrangement. The plan was then given to Tiberio, that he might copy it in all parts, with due order; and the master commanded that a model in clay should be prepared, which he showed Tiberio how to fix up firmly. This, which was of eight palms, Tiberio completed in ten days, and it pleased all the Florentine community; wherefore they caused him afterwards to make one in wood, which is now in their Consolate,[288] and a beautiful church it is as ever man beheld, grand, rich, and varied. The building was commenced accordingly; but when five thousand crowns had been expended thereon, the works ceased for lack of funds to Michelagnolo's infinite vexation. He then procured for Tiberio the commission to finish, under his direction, a Chapel which the Cardinal of Santa Fiore had commenced in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore; but this also remained unfinished at the death of the Cardinal, of Michel-

[288] In March, 1560, Calcagni was sent to Cosimo with designs for this church; Jacopo Sansovino and Antonio da San Gallo the Younger had both taken a hand in plans for the proposed construction. The model, which existed as late as 1720 (see Titi, *Desc. di Roma*, p. 422), has perished, as have also the drawings. Nothing remains to show what were Michelangelo's intentions regarding this edifice. The present church of S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini was finished by Carlo Maderna, the *façade* by Alessandro Galilei.

agnolo, and of Tiberio himself; the early demise of the latter being an event much to be regretted.[289]

Michelagnolo had been seventeen years in the Fabric of San Pietro, and the Commissioners had more than once attempted to remove him, but not succeeding, they laboured continually to throw obstacles in his way, hoping to weary his patience, seeing that he was now old, and could endure but little. At this time it chanced that Cesare da Castel Durante, overseer of the works, died;[290] when Michelagnolo, to the end that the building should not suffer, and until he could find a successor after his own heart, sent Luigi Gaeta thither in his place, a very young man certainly, but not without experience. Some of the Commissioners had, however, been frequently trying to bring Nanni di Baccio Bigio into that undertaking, he having urged them much to do so, and promising great things; they now, therefore, thinking of managing everything in their own fashion, sent away Luigi Gaeta, when Michelagnolo, much displeased by this, would no longer go to San Pietro; and they, the Commissioners, then began to give out that a substitute must be provided, he being able to do no more, and having himself declared, as they said, that he would no longer trouble himself with that work. These things coming to Michelagnolo's ears, he sent Daniello Ricciarelli of Volterra, to the Bishop Ferratino, one of the Commissioners, who had told Cardinal Carpi that Michelagnolo had assured a servant of his that he would have no more to do with the building. Daniello now informed the Bishop that it was not Michelagnolo's wish to give it up: but Ferratino replied that he was sorry the master had not made his purpose known, adding nevertheless that a substitute was needful, and that he would have gladly accepted Daniello himself, a reply with which Michelagnolo appeared to be satisfied. The Bishop then gave the rest of the Commis-

[289] The chapel was completed by Giacomo della Porta. Cardinal Santa Fiore was Guido Antonio Sforza; see Milanesi, VII., p. 264, note 1.

[290] He was assassinated in 1562.

sioners to understand, in the name of Michelagnolo, that a substitute was to be appointed ; but instead of presenting Daniello, he put forward Nanni Bigio in his place : the latter was accordingly accepted and installed, nor had any long time elapsed before he caused a scaffolding to be raised from the Pope's stables which are on the side of the hill, to the great apsis which looks towards that side, declaring that too many ropes were consumed in drawing up the materials, and that it would be better to raise them by means of his scaffolding.

Being made acquainted with this proceeding, Michelagnolo repaired to the Pope, whom he found on the Piazza of the Capitol ; and speaking somewhat loudly, His Holiness made him enter a room, when the master exclaimed, "Holy Father ! a man of whom I know nothing has been placed by the Commissioners in San Pietro as my substitute, but if they and your Holiness are persuaded that I can no longer fulfil my office, I will return to take my rest in Florence, where I shall be near that great Prince who has so often desired my presence, and can finish my life in my own house ; wherefore I beg the good leave of your Holiness to depart." [291] The Pope, whom that proposal did not please, sought to pacify the master with kind words, and bade him come to Araceli on the following day, to talk of the matter. Having there assembled the Commissioners, His Holiness inquired the cause of these things ; and they, declaring that the building was in danger of being ruined by the errors committed therein, which he knew was not the case, the Pope commanded Signor Gabrio Scierbellone [292] to ex-

[291] A singular observation of Michelangelo, in respect to his reasons for not returning to Florence, will be found in the well-known *Autobiography* of Benvenuto Cellini, who relates that when he pressed Michelangelo to return, on the part of Duke Cosimo, the master looked fixedly into his face, and with a meaning smile replied, "And you, Benvenuto, how do you like abiding with him ?" "This smile and question," remarks an Italian writer, "need no comment." . . . If the reader will recall the fate of the hapless Sforza Almeni, he will perhaps agree with our author's compatriot, that no comment is required.—*Mrs. Foster's Notes.*

[292] Agabrio Serbelloni.

amine the structure, and require Nanni, who had made these assertions, to show where the errors might be found.

The master being examined accordingly, and Signor Gabrio finding all the reports to be false and malignant, Nanni was dismissed with few compliments, and in the presence of many nobles, being reproached at the same time with the destruction of the Bridge of Santa Maria, and with having promised to clean the Harbour of Ancona at small cost, whereas he had injured that Port more in one year * than the sea had ever done in ten. And this was the end of Nanni Bigio's employment in San Pietro,[293] where Michelagnolo had employed seventeen years merely in the care of so fixing the arrangement of all its parts, that they should not be altered; the envious persecutions to which he was subjected, making him fear that changes in the building might be effected after his death: but he has thus brought things to such a state, that the work has now a fair prospect of being securely completed. By all this we see that God, who protects the good, has defended him while he lived, having extended his hand over the fabric and the master, even to his death. Then Pope Pius IV., who survived him, commanded the superintendents to alter nothing that Michelagnolo had arranged; while Pius V., his successor, continued with even greater authority, to command that the designs of Michelagnolo should be followed with unvarying exactitude, nay, when the architects Piero Ligorio, and Jacopo Vignola, were directing the fabric, he caused the former, who presumptuously proposed certain changes, to be dismissed with little honour, and the whole charge was then made over to Vignola.

That Pontiff was indeed as zealous for the honour of the edifice, as for the glory of the Christian faith; and in the year 1565, when Vasari went to pay his respects to His

* Read "one day" for one year.

[293] That is to say, for the time being. Nanni tormented Michelangelo to the end of the latter's life, and as soon as the great sculptor was dead, again applied for such vacant places as he, Nanni, might obtain.

Holiness—as well as in the next year, when he was again summoned to Rome—the Pontiff spoke of nothing but the regard that was to be paid to the designs left by Michelagnolo; and, to obviate all disorder, he commanded Vasari to repair to the Bishop Ferratino, in company with Messer Guglielmo Sangalletti, the private treasurer of His Holiness, on the part of Pope Pius, and to direct that prelate, who was chief of the builders, on all occasions to guide himself by the important records and memoranda which Vasari would give him; to the end that no malignant or presumptuous person should ever prevail to alter a single point of those arrangements made by the admirable genius of Michelagnolo. On this occasion, Messer Giovambattista Altoviti, a good friend of Vasari and of these arts, was also present, and when Ferratino had heard the discourse made to him by Vasari, he solemnly promised to observe, and see observed, every order and arrangement left by Michelagnolo, adding that he would himself be the protector, defender, and preserver of the labours performed by that great man.

Returning to Michelagnolo himself, I have to relate, that about a year before his death, Vasari secretly prevailed on Duke Cosimo, to move the Pope, through Messer Averardo his Ambassador, to the end that since Michelagnolo was now much debilitated, His Holiness should keep a careful eye on those by whom he was surrounded, and should cause him to be visited at his house, for the due preservation of his designs, cartoons, models, and other property, taking measures, in the event of any sudden accident, such as may well happen to the very old; and this, in order that whatever might belong to, or be needful for, the fabric of San Pietro, the Sacristy and Library of San Lorenzo, or the Façade of the last-named Church, might not be taken away, as so frequently happens, nor were these precautions, which were all duly attended to, without a satisfactory result.[294]

[294] It is thought that Michelangelo may have destroyed many of his drawings before his death, as few were found.

In the Lent of this year, Lionardo, the nephew of Michelagnolo, resolved to go to Rome, as though divining that his kinsman was now near the end of his life, and the promise of this visit was all the more welcome to the latter, as he was already suffering from a slow fever. He caused his physician, Messer Federigo Donato, to write to Lionardo, hastening his arrival; but his malady increased, notwithstanding the cares of those around him: still retaining perfect self-possession, the master at length made his will in three words, saying he left his soul to God, his body to the earth, and his goods to his nearest relations. He recommended his attendants to bethink themselves, in the passage from this life, of the sufferings endured by Our Saviour Christ; and on the 17th[295] of February, in the year 1563, and at 23 o'clock, according to the Florentine computation, (in 1564 after that of Rome,) he departed to a better life.

Michelagnolo found his chief pleasure in the labours of art; all that he attempted, however difficult, proving successful, because nature had imparted to him the most admirable genius, and his application to those excellent studies of design was unremitting. For the greater exactitude, he made numerous dissections of the human frame, examining the anatomy of each part, the articulations of the joints, the various muscles, the nerves, the veins, and all the different minutiæ of the human form.[296] Nor of this only, but of animals, and more particularly of horses, which he much delighted in, and kept for his pleasure, examining them so minutely in all their relations to art, that he knew more of them than do many whose sole business is the care of those animals. These labours enabled him to complete his works,

[295] On February 18th rather, at a quarter of five in the afternoon.

[296] M. Guillaume, speaking with the authority of a sculptor, tells us that the figures of Michelangelo testify in their thickset character rather to an Etruscan than Greek influence. The loins in relation to the shoulders attest "a transplanted northern race like that of Cisalpine Gaul;" the neck is extraordinarily developed, is full of strength and elegance; the outline of the arms is accentuated, they are even knotty, save those of the Moses, which seem rather flat and straight; the feet and hands are supremely delicate and elegant.

whether of the pencil or chisel, with inimitable perfection, and to give them a grace, a beauty, and an animation, wherein (be it said without offence to any) he has surpassed even the antique. In his works he has overcome the difficulties of art, with so much facility, that no trace of labour appears in them, however great may be that which those who copy them find in the imitation of the same.

The genius of Michelagnolo was acknowledged in his lifetime, and not as happens in many cases, after his death only; and he was favoured, as we have seen, by Julius II., Leo X., Clement VII., Paul III., Julius III., Paul IV., and Pius IV.; these Pontiffs having always desired to keep him near them, as indeed would Soliman, Emperor of the Turks, Francis, King of France, the Emperor Charles V., the Signoria of Venice, and lastly Duke Cosimo de' Medici: all very gladly have done, each of those monarchs and potentates having offered him the most honourable appointments, for the love of his great abilities. These things do not happen to any except men of the highest distinction, but in him all the three arts were found in such perfection, as God hath vouchsafed to no other master, ancient or modern, in all the years that the sun has been turning round.

His powers of imagination were such that he was frequently compelled to abandon his purpose, because he could not express by the hand those grand and sublime ideas, which he had conceived in his mind, nay, he has spoiled and destroyed many works for this cause; and I know too that some short time before his death he burnt a large number of his designs, sketches, and cartoons, that none might see the labours he had endured, and the trials to which he had subjected his spirit, in his resolve not to fall short of perfection. I have myself secured some drawings by his hand, which were found in Florence, and are now in my book of designs and these, although they give evidence of his great genius, yet prove also that the hammer of Vulcan was necessary to bring Minerva from the head of Jupiter. He would

make his figures of nine, ten, and even twelve heads long, for no other purpose than the research of a certain grace in putting the parts together which is not to be found in the natural form, and would say that the artist must have his measuring tools, not in the hand but in the eye, because the hands do but operate, it is the eye that judges; he pursued the same idea in architecture also.

None will marvel that Michelagnolo should be a lover of solitude, devoted as he was to Art, which demands the whole man, with all his thoughts, for herself. He who resigns his life to her may well disregard society, seeing that he is never alone nor without food for contemplation; and whoever shall attribute this love of solitude to caprice or eccentricity, does wrong; the man who would produce works of merit should be free from cares and anxieties, seeing that Art demands earnest consideration, loneliness, and quietude; she cannot permit wandering of the mind. Our artist did nevertheless greatly prize the friendship of distinguished and learned men, he enjoyed the society of such at all convenient seasons, maintaining close intercourse with them, more especially with the illustrious Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, who loved him greatly. Having heard that an Arab horse which he possessed was much admired for its beauty by Michelagnolo, the Cardinal sent it to him as a present, with ten mules, all laden with corn, and a servant to take care of those animals, which the master accepted willingly. The most illustrious Cardinal Pole was also a very intimate friend of Michelagnolo, who delighted in the talents and virtues of that Prelate. The Cardinals Farnese and Santa Croce, the latter afterwards Pope Marcellus, with the Cardinals Ridolfi and Maffeo, Monsignore Bembo, Carpi, and many other Cardinals and Prelates, were in like manner among his associates, but need not all be named here. Monsignore Claudio Tolomei was one of his intimates, and the Magnificent Messer Ottaviano de' Medici was his gossip, Michelagnolo having been godfather to one of his sons. Another of his friends was Messer Bindo Altoviti, to whom

he gave that cartoon of the Chapel, wherein Noah is represented as inebriated and derided by one of his sons, while the other two compassionately seek to veil the degradation of their father.

Messer Lorenzo Ridolfi, Messer Annibale Caro, and Messer Giovan Francesco Lottini, of Volterra, were likewise among the friends of Michelagnolo, but more than all the rest did he love Messer Tommaso de' Cavalieri, a Roman gentleman, still young and much inclined to these arts. For him, and to promote his acquirement of drawing, he made superb cartoons, beautiful heads in red and black chalks, with a Ganymede carried to heaven by the Bird of Jove, a Tityas with the Vulture devouring his heart, the Chariot of the Sun with Phaeton therein falling into the river Po,[297] and a Bacchanal of Children, each and all of which are most admirable. Michelagnolo also made the Portrait of Messer Tommaso in a cartoon the size of life ; he, who never painted the likeness of any one either before or after, seeing that he hated to take anything from the life, unless it presented the very perfection of beauty. These drawings were afterwards increased by those which Michelagnolo made for Sebastiano del Piombo, to the end that he might put them into colours, and which were obtained by Messer Tommaso, who has a great delight in these works,[298] which are indeed most

[297] Certain of these were among the drawings which served for some *intagli* in crystal upon a casket, executed by Giovanni Bernardi da Castel Bolognese for Pier Luigi Farnese. One of the drawings was the Phæton. See Milanesi, VII., p. 271, notes 1 and 2, and V., p. 373, note 4. See also a letter from Cavalieri to Michelangelo in Symonds, *op. cit.*, II., pp. 140, 141. There remain two examples of the drawing of Phæton, one at Windsor, one in the Galichon collection (see *L'Œuvre et la Vie*, p. 266, for a reproduction of it). The Bacchanal is at Windsor, as is also a fine Tityrus (Tityos or Prometheus). Windsor also possesses a Ganymede (said to be a copy by Giulio Clovio) ; a pen-and-ink at Oxford, of a Jupiter and Cupid, was also suggested by Mr. Louis Fagan (see his Catalogue of Drawings in Great Britain) as possibly identical with the Cavalieri drawing.

[298] The friendship of Michelangelo for Cavalieri has provoked much controversy. The social conditions in Italy of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were such that Michelangelo the Younger felt obliged to defend his grand-uncle from any aspersions, by what he, the nephew, considered a pious

admirable, and well merit to be kept as he keeps them in the manner of relics, but he very liberally permits artists to use them at their pleasure. The friendships of Michelagnolo were all for deserving and noble persons, he having much judgment in all things. Messer Tommaso induced him to execute numerous drawings for his friends, among others an Annunciation in a new manner for the Cardinal di Cesis; this was afterwards painted by Marcello of Mantua, and placed in the marble Chapel constructed by that Cardinal in the Church of the Pace at Rome. Another Annunciation, also painted by Marcello, is in the Church of San Giovanni Laterano, and the design for this is in the possession of Duke Cosimo; given by Lionardo Buonarroti, after the death of his uncle, to his Excellency, who keeps it like a

fraud, garbling (in a wholly unnecessary manner) some of the words and expressions in the sonnets. Guasti, Milanesi, and Gotti restoring the correct text, theorized to the effect that the letters from Michelangelo to Cavalieri were really intended for Vittoria Colonna, and were to be passed on to her by Tommaso. Signori Parlagreco and Lombroso ridiculed these theories (see also Nisbet, The Insanity of Genius) and considered Michelangelo as the victim of mental or, rather, moral disorder. Anton Springer gave a certain amount of support to this theory by treating the Cavalieri episode as "a paroxysm of friendship" and an "aberration of fancy." Symonds shows, on the contrary, that it was no paroxysm but only "a marked instance of Michelagnolo's habitual emotion," or rather his enthusiasm for youth and beauty, whereas his friendship for Vittoria was unique. The same author wholly disagrees with Lombroso and Parlagreco, considers the hypothesis of Guasti and Gotti as equally untenable, and appeals to the letters of Cavalieri as showing that the friendship existing between himself and Michelangelo was only such as did credit to a gentleman of honor and repute (see Symonds's Michelangelo, II., pp. 125–149, and Appendix, pp. 381–385). The author invokes the support given him by Signor P. Fanfani (*Spigolatura Michelangiolescha*, Pistoja, 1876), and especially by Herr Ludwig Von Scheffler (*Michelangelo: eine Renaissance Studie*, Altenburg, 1892), who develops at length his conviction regarding the enthusiasm bred in Michelangelo by plastic feeling and Platonism at once. As for the extravagant expressions in some of the letters, it is but natural to remark (as does M. de Montaiglon, *op. cit.*) the fact that the period of Michelangelo in Italy already borders upon that of Cultism in Spain and Euphuism in England. A study of the writings of certain contemporaries and successors goes far toward resolving the "extravagant expressions" of Michelangelo into the artificial (and from the modern point of view ridiculous) but accredited literary *technique* of the late sixteenth century as employed by Shakespeare in his Sonnets and by Languet in his letters to Sidney.

jewel, with a figure of Christ in the Garden, and other cartoons and sketches from the hand of Michelagnolo. The Duke also possesses a statue five braccia high, representing the Goddess of Victory, with a captive lying beneath her;[299] he has besides a group of four Captives, merely rough hewn, but which may well serve to teach all men how statues may be extracted from marble without injury to the stone.

The method of proceeding is to take a figure of wax, or other firm material, and lay it in a vessel of water, which is of its nature level at the surface; the figure being then gradually raised, first displays the more salient parts, while the less elevated still lie hidden, until, as the form rises, the whole comes by degrees into view. In the same manner are figures to be extracted by the chisel from the marble, the highest parts being first brought forth, till by degrees all the lowest parts appear; and this was the method pursued by Michelagnolo, in these figures of the Captives,[300] which his Excellency would fain see adopted as models by his academicians

Michelagnolo loved the society of artists, and held much intercourse with many among them, as, for example, with Jacopo Sansovino, Il Rosso, Pontormo, Daniello da Volterra, and the Aretine Giorgio Vasari, to whom he showed infinite kindness. It was by him indeed that Vasari was led to the study of architecture, Michelagnolo intending some day to make use of his services, and gladly conferring with him on matters connected with art. Those who affirm that he was not willing to instruct others are wrong, he would assist all with whom he was intimate or who asked

[299] This is not a goddess, but the male figure of a Genius of Victory referred to in note 84.

[300] The so-called Captives in the Louvre and the rough-hewn figures in the Boboli Gardens, Florence, have already been referred to. Giovan Bologna when a youth showed to the aged Michelangelo a carefully finished clay model. The latter passing his finger over the clay entirely altered its form and then said, "Learn first to block out your work, *then* to finish carefully."

his counsels.[301] I have been present many times when this has happened, but I say no more, not desiring to proclaim the defects of others. It is true that he was not fortunate with those whom he took into his house, having chanced upon disciples wholly incapable of imitating their master. The Pistoiese, Pietro Urbino, had ability but would never give himself the trouble to work. Antonio Mini was sufficiently willing, but had not quickness of perception, and when the wax is hard it does not take a good impression. Ascanio della Ripa[302] took great pains, but no results have been displayed, whether in designs or finished works; he spent several years over a picture of which Michelagnolo had given him the cartoon, and, at a word, the hopes conceived of him have vanished in smoke. I remember that Michelagnolo, having compassion on Ripa's hard labours, would sometimes help him with his own hand, but it was all to little purpose. Had he found a disciple to his mind, he would have made studies of anatomy,[303] and written a

[301] In 1846 Count A. Raczynski published in his book, *Les Arts en Portugal*, a translation made in 1843 by M. Roquemont, portrait-painter, of the greater portion of the manuscript of Francis of Holland, architect and illuminator, which was found in the Jesuit Library at Lisbon. Symonds says that it is dated Lisbon, S. Luke's day, 1538. The title-page of the portion relating to the manuscript in Raczynski's book reads as follows: "Manuscript of Francis of Holland, to the most high and august King of Portugal, the very happy Don John III., Francis of Holland, upon his return from Italy, concerning Ancient Painting, 1549." The extracts given by Raczynski fill some seventy octavo pages, and they give an account in detail of the conversations held on three different Sundays in the convent church of San Silvestro upon the Monte Cavallo in Rome, by Michelangelo, Vittoria Colonna, Lattanzio Tolomei, Francis of Holland, etc. In these conversations Michelangelo maintains the superiority of the Italian school; the superlative importance of the delineation of the human form, the necessity for an artist devoting his *entire time* to study, saying "do you not know that there are sciences which demand the whole of a man without leaving the least portion of his spirit free for your distractions." These talks, though wordy and a trifle academic, are nevertheless far more *intime* than are the Dialogues, and are a valuable contribution to our knowledge of Michelangelo and his social relations with Vittoria Colonna.

[302] This was Ascanio Condivi, to whom Vasari was so much indebted for the material which he used in the second edition of his Lives.

[303] Condivi declares that professional anatomists hardly knew as much of

treatise on that subject, even in his old age, as he ofter said to me, desiring to do this for the benefit of artists, wh are frequently misled by want of knowledge in anatomy But he distrusted his power of doing justice to his con ceptions with the pen, having little practice in speaking although in his letters he expressed his thoughts well an in few words. He delighted in the reading of our Italia poets, more especially of Dante, whom he honoured greatl and imitated in his thoughts as well as copied in his inven tions.[304] Like Petrarch also, he was fond of writing mad rigals and making sonnets, many of which are very serious and have since been made subjects of commentary. Messe Benedetto Varchi, for example, has read an admirable lect ure[305] before the Florentine Academy, on that beginning:

*Non ha l'ottimo artista alcun concetto*
*Ch' un marmo solo in se non circonscriva.*

Michelagnolo sent a large number of these verses to th most illustrious Marchesana di Pescara, receiving replie both in verse and prose from that lady, of whose genius h

their subject as Buonarroti, and that the latter had lived so much amor dead bodies that his stomach had become weakened and he had but sma appetite for food. He avers that the master was little pleased with Dürer theories upon the subject of anatomy.

[304] Michelangelo covered the pages of a copy of the Divine Comedy wit drawings; this precious volume was lost at sea. In 1392 and 1429 the Si noria discussed the project of removing the remains of Dante from Raven to Florence. See F. Moisè, *Santa Croce di Firenze*, pp. 484-486. The 20 October, 1519, members of the Florentine Academy (*L'Accademia Medice* petitioned Leo. X. to authorize the translation of the bones of Dante to Flo ence. Michelangelo offered his services for erecting a fitting monument his great townsman. The memorial addressed to the Pope was written Latin, as were also the signatures, with the single exception of Michelangelo' he wrote his offer and name in Italian, wording the former as follows: " Michelangelo, sculptor, ask the same of your Holiness, offering to myself mal for the Divine Poet a fitting tomb, and in an honourable place in this city Perhaps no greater opportunity was ever lost to art than in the failure realize this tribute offered by the greatest of Tuscan artists to the memory the greatest of Italian poets.

[305] Two lectures rather, which were published in Florence in 1594.

was as much enamoured as she of his.[306] She went more than once from Viterbo to Rome to see him, and Michel-

[306] The famous friendship of Michelangelo and Vittoria Colonna has supplied an element of romance in the artist's career, a romance sober and elevated, dignified by intellectual sympathy and made even more interesting by the age of these two warm friends, since Michelangelo at the time that their mutual attachment was closest, was nearly seventy years old, while the lady was but fifteen years younger. Condivi says of the letters testifying to this friendship, "*d' onesto e di dolcissimo amore ripiene, e quali di tal petto uscir solevano.*" Vittoria, of the very noble house of the Colonna, was daughter of Fabrizio Colonna, Grand Constable of Naples, and of Agnesina di Montefeltro, daughter of the Duke of Urbino. When nineteen years old she was married to Ferrante Francesco d'Avalos, Marquis of Pescara. The latter became famous as general of the Imperial forces, winner of the battle of Pavia, and captor of Francis I., but later the alleged treachery of the Marquis (see the history of the conspiracy of Girolamo Morone) clouded his fame, and Pescara died in 1525, shortly after the discovery of the conspiracy. Vittoria, always loyal to her husband's memory, survived him twenty-two years, which she passed partly in Ischia, partly in convents at Orvieto and Viterbo, and finally in Rome, where, although still living in a convent, she retained the freedom of going and coming at will.

Michelangelo and Vittoria Colonna were drawn together by admiration and esteem, and their intercourse was strengthened by their mutual interest in poetry and by a community of religious ideas of an advanced character. Her ideas indeed were so advanced that in those days of the counter-Reformation and growing activity of the Inquisition, she was put under the surveillance of the Holy Office. All who became her friends were therefore regarded by the church as slightly suspicious, and the chief among them belonged, says Symonds, to "that group of earnest thinkers who felt the influences of the Reformation without ceasing to be loyal children of the church." This group counted Carnesecchi, who was burned for heresy, Sadoleto, Giovanni Morone, Reginald Pole, Marcantonio Flaminio, Gasparo Contarini, and Fra Bernardino Ochino, who openly avowed Lutheran principles to the sorrow of Vittoria. Vittoria's poems were widely circulated and much admired; Michelangelo tells us in a letter, that he had from her one hundred and forty-three sonnets, which he had lent to so many friends at different times that "all of them are now in print" [the first edition was that of Parma, in 1538]. He had in addition many letters from her while she was at Orvieto and Viterbo. Vittoria lived during her last years in the convent of the Benedictines of Sant' Anna, and it was at this time that the two old friends enjoyed frequent opportunities of meeting each other. She died in 1547, and Michelangelo said afterward to Condivi that he "regretted nothing except that when he went to visit her at the moment of her passage from this life, he did not kiss her forehead or her face instead of her hand" (Symonds's translation of the passage, *op. cit.*, II., p. 118; see the whole chapter for a very interesting essay upon Michelangelo and Vittoria Colonna). See, too, Scheffler's *Michelangelo*.

agnolo designed for her a Pietà, with two Angels of infinite beauty; an admirable work, as is also a figure of Christ on the Cross, raising his head to heaven, and commending his spirit to his Father;[307] and one of Our Saviour at the Well with the Woman of Samaria, both executed for the Marchesana. He delighted in the reading of scripture, like a good Christian as he was, and greatly honoured the writings of Fra Girolamo Savonarola, whom he had heard in the pulpit.[308] He was an ardent admirer of beauty for the purposes of art; and from the beautiful he knew how to select the most beautiful, a quality without which no master can produce perfection; but he was not liable to the undue influence of beauty, as his whole life has proved. In all things Michelagnolo was exceedingly moderate; ever intent upon his work during the period of youth, he contented himself with a little bread and wine, and at a later period, until he had finished the Chapel namely, it was his habit to take but a frugal refreshment at the close of his day's work; although rich, he lived like a poor man; rarely did any friend or other person eat at his table, and he would accept no presents, considering that he would be bound to any one who offered him such: his temperance kept him in constant activity, and he slept very little, frequently rising in the night because he could not sleep, and resuming his labours with the chisel.

For these occasions he had made himself a cap of paste-

There is also a study of Vittoria Colonna in Harford's Life of Michael Angelo Buonarroti, II., pp. 252–325.

[307] This *Pietà* no longer remains except in transcriptions; it was engraved by Giulio Bonasoni and Tudius Bononiensis in 1546. Many pencil drawings of the Crucifixion remain, also early engravings from the drawings, and again pictures suggested by it have been painted by Venusti and others. A sketch at Oxford (Taylor Museum) is believed to represent the original Crucifixion designed for Vittoria (see Symonds, *op. cit.*, II., p. 99). Milanesi, VII., p. 275, note 2, says a small picture by Alessandro Allori in the Uffizi is also taken from this Crucifixion. The fine drawings in the British Museum and the Louvre having for subject the Resurrection are well known. One of the most beautiful of Buonarroti's drawings is that called "The Archers," at Windsor.

[308] Savonarola by his teachings was an inspiration to more than one great artist.

board, in the centre of which he placed his candle, which thus gave him light without encumbering his hands. Vasari had often seen this cap; and, remarking that Michelagnolo did not use wax-lights, but candles made of unmixed goat's tallow, which are excellent, he sent the master four packets of the same, weighing forty pounds. His own servant presented them respectfully in the evening, but Michelagnolo refused to accept them; whereupon the man replied: "Messere, I have nearly broken my arms in bringing them from the bridge hither, and have no mind to carry them back; now, there is a heap of mud before your door which is thick enough to hold them upright, so I'll e'en stick them up there, and set them all a-light." But, hearing that, the master bade him lay down the candles, declaring that no such pranks should be played before his house.

He has told me that, in his youth, he frequently slept in his clothes, being wearied with his labours he had no mind to undress merely that he might have to dress again. Many have accused him of being avaricious, but they are mistaken; he has proved himself the contrary, whether as regards his works in art or other possessions. He presented rich productions, of various kind, as we have seen, to Messer Tommaso de' Cavalieri and Messer Bindo, with designs of considerable value to Fra Bastiano: while to his disciple, Antonio Mini, he gave designs, cartoons, the picture of the Leda, and all the models in clay or wax that ever he had made, but which were left in France as we have said. To Gherardo Perini, a Florentine gentleman and his friend, he gave three plates of most beautiful heads, which have fallen since his death into the hands of the most illustrious Don Francesco, Prince of Florence, by whom they are kept as the gems which they truly are. For Bartolommeo Bettini he made the Cartoon of a Cupid kissing his mother, Venus; a beautiful thing, now at Florence, in the possession of Bettini's heirs.[309] For the Marquis del Vasto, moreover, he made the Cartoon of a *Noli me tangere;* and these two last-

[309] This cartoon has already been described.

mentioned works were admirably painted by Pontormo, as we have before related. The two Captives he gave to Signor Ruberto Strozzi; and the Pietà, in marble, which he had broken, to Antonio, his servant, and Francesco Bandini.

Who is it then that shall tax this master with avarice, seeing that the gifts he thus made were of things for which he might have obtained thousands of crowns; to say nothing of a fact which I well know, that he has made innumerable designs, and inspected buildings in great numbers, without ever gaining one scudo for the same? But to come to the money which he did gain: this was made, not by offices nor yet by trafficking or exchanges, but by the labour and thought of the master. I ask also, can he be called avaricious who assisted the poor as he did, who secretly paid the dowry of so many poor girls, and enriched those who served him? As witness Urbino, whom he rendered very rich; this man, having been long his disciple, had served him many years when Michelagnolo one day said to him, "When I die what wilt thou do?" "Serve some one else," replied Urbino. "Thou poor creature!" returned Michelagnolo, "I must save thee from that;" whereupon he gave him two thousand crowns at one time, a mode of proceeding befitting the Cæsars and high Princes of the world. To his nephew also, he has more than once given three and four thousand crowns at a time, and has finally left him ten thousand crowns, besides the property in Rome.[310]

Michelagnolo had remarkable strength of memory, inso-

[310] Neither Vasari nor Condivi say much regarding the family of Michelangelo, but the letters published by Milanesi, and many of which are intercalated in the pages of later biographers—Symonds, Heath Wilson, etc.—treat almost wholly either of business or of family affairs. The artist, though legally emancipated in his thirty-third year by his father, Lodovico, continued to assist the latter till his death. The letters to father, brothers, and nephew, abound at once in expressions of complaint, affection, suspicion, generosity, and wrath. They show the sculptor's pride in his origin, in the Buonarroti Simoni, his desire that the family line should be perpetuated through honorable marriage connection with some Florentine family of good birth. They reveal at once his thrift and his open-handedness. In fact the *lettere* show another side of Michelangelo's character, and form a kind of second volume to Vasari's life.

much that, after having once seen a work of any other artist he would remember it so perfectly that, if it pleased him to make use of any portion thereof, he could do so in such a manner that none could perceive it. In his youth he was once supping with some painters his friends, when they amused themselves with trying who could best produce one of those figures without design and of intense ugliness, such as those who know nothing are wont to scratch on the walls. Here his memory came to his aid, he remembered precisely the sort of absurdity required, and which he had seen on a wall; this he reproduced as exactly as if he had had it before his eyes, surpassing all the painters around him: a very difficult thing for a man so accomplished in design, and so exclusively accustomed to the most elevated and finished works of mastery as was Michelagnolo.

He proved himself resentful, but with good reason, against those who had done him wrong, yet he never sought to avenge himself by any act of injury or violence; very orderly in all his proceedings, modest in his deportment, prudent and reasonable in discourse, usually earnest and serious, yet sometimes amusing, ingenious, and quick in reply; many of his remarks have been remembered and well merit to be repeated here, but I will add only a few of these recollections. A friend once speaking to him of death, remarked that Michelagnolo's constant labours for art, leaving him no repose, must needs make him think of it with great regret. "By no means," replied Michelagnolo, "for if life be a pleasure, yet, since death also is sent by the hand of the same master, neither should that displease us." To a citizen who observed him standing at Or San Michele, to look at the San Marco of Donato, and who inquired what he thought of that statue, he replied, that he had never seen a face looking more like that of a good man; adding: "If St. Mark looked thus we may safely believe what he has written." Being once shown the drawing of a boy who was recommended to his favour, and told, by way of excuse for defects, that he had not been long learning, he an-

swered, "It is easy to perceive that."[311] A similar remark escaped him when a painter who had depicted a Pietà was found to have succeeded badly; "It is indeed a pity," observed the master.

When Michelagnolo heard that Sebastiano Veniziano was to paint a Monk in the Chapel of San Pietro a Montorio, he declared that this would spoil the work; and being asked wherefore, replied, that "as the monks had spoiled the world,[312] which was so large, it could not be surprising that they should spoil that Chapel which was so small." A painter had executed a work with great labour, and spent much time over it, but acquired a good sum when it was finished; being asked what he thought of the artist, Michelagnolo replied, "While he is labouring to become a rich man, he will always continue a poor painter." A friend of his who had taken orders, arrived in Rome, wearing the garb of a pilgrim, and meeting Michelagnolo, saluted him, but the latter pretended not to know him, compelling the monk to tell his name at length, when Michelagnolo, feigning surprise at his dress, remarked, "Oh, you really have a fine aspect; if you were but as good within as you seem without, it would be well for your soul." The same monk had recommended a friend of his own to Michelagnolo, who had given him a statue to execute, and the monk then begged him to give something more; this also our artist good-naturedly did, but it was now found that the pretended friend had made these requests only in the certainty

[311] It is said that Michelangelo made the same answer to Vasari when the latter, showing him his work in the Cancellaria at Rome, said that it had been executed in the space of a few days. Michelangelo, when asked by Francis of Holland, whether it were better to work rapidly or the reverse, gave the very sensible answer that it is better certainly to work rapidly if the work does not suffer, but that if it does there is assuredly no advantage in rapidity since the final requirement is and always will be that the work shall be good no matter how long or how short a time it has taken. Nevertheless the sculptor highly appreciated the capacity for handling work in such a way that it should not *appear* labored, and so that it should rather have the look of having been done easily.

[312] Milanesi remarks that Michelangelo here refers to the monk Luther.

that they would not be granted, and suffered his disappointment to be seen; whereupon Michelagnolo declared that such gutter-minded men were his abhorrence; and, continuing to take his metaphors from architecture, he added, "channels that have two mouths rarely act well."

Being asked his opinion of an artist who, having copied the most renowned antique marble statues and imitated the same, then boasted that he had surpassed the ancients, he made answer to this effect:—"He who walks on the traces of another is but little likely to get before him; and an artist who cannot do good of himself, is but poorly able to make good use of the works of others."[313] A certain painter, I know not who, had produced a picture wherein there was an ox that was better than all besides, when, being asked why the artist had made that animal more life-like than the rest, Michelagnolo replied, "Every painter draws himself well." Passing one day by San Giovanni, in Florence, he was asked his opinion of the doors, and said, "They are so beautiful that they deserve to be used as the gates of Paradise." Seeing a prince who changed his plans daily, and was never in one mind, he remarked to a friend, "The head of this Signore is like a weather-cock; it turns round with every wind that touches it." Going to see a work in sculpture which was about to be fixed in its place, the sculptor took great pains to arrange the lights, that the work might be seen well, when Michelagnolo said:—"Do not trouble yourself; the principal question is, how it will bear the light of the Piazza,"—meaning to imply that when a work is given to public view, the people judge it, whether good or bad. There was a great prince in Rome who desired to pass for a good architect, and had caused certain niches to be made wherein he meant to place figures; each recess was three times the height of its depth, with a ring at the

[313] According to Milanesi, Michelangelo made this speech when Bandinelli boasted of having surpassed the Laocoon in his copy of the same. Michelangelo sometimes praised as well as blamed, for he said of the portrait of Alfonso of Ferrara, that "Titian alone deserved the name of painter."

summit, and here the prince had various statues placed, but they did not turn out well. He then asked Michelagnolo what he could put into the niches. "Hang a bunch of eels in that Ring," replied the master.

With the Commissioners of San Pietro there was associated a gentleman who professed to understand Vitruvius, and to criticize the works accomplished. "You have now a man in the building who has great genius," remarked some one to Michelagnolo; "True," replied our artist, "but he has a bad judgment." A painter had executed a story, for which he had taken so many parts from drawings and other pictures, that there was nothing in it which was not copied: this being shown to Michelagnolo, and his opinion requested, he made answer, "It is very well; but at the day of Judgment, when every body shall retake its own limbs, what will this Story do, for then it will have nothing remaining?"—a warning to those who would practise art that they should do something for themselves. Passing once through Modena, he saw many beautiful figures which the Modanese sculptor, Maestro Antonio Bigarino,[314] had made of terracotta, coloured to look like marble, which appeared to him to be most excellent productions; and as that sculptor did not know how to work in marble, he said, "If this earth were to become marble, woe to the antiques."

Michelagnolo was told that he ought to resent the perpetual competition of Nanni di Baccio Bigio, to which he replied: "He who strives with those who have nothing gains but little." A priest, who was his friend, said to him, "'Tis a pity that you have not married, that you might have left children to inherit the fruit of these honourable toils;" when Michelagnolo replied, "I have only too much of a wife in my art, and she has given me trouble enough; as to my children, they are the works that I shall leave; and if they are not worth much, they will at least live for some time. Woe to Lorenzo Ghiberti, if he had not made the gates of San Giovanni; for his children and grandchil-

[314] Better known as Begarelli.

dren have sold or squandered all that he left; but the gates are still in their place." Vasari was sent one night by Pope Julius III. to the house of Michelagnolo for a design, and the master was then working at the Pietà in marble which he afterwards broke, knowing by the knock, who stood at the door, he descended with a lamp in his hand, and having ascertained what Vasari wanted, he sent Urbino for the drawing, and fell into conversation on other matters. Vasari meanwhile turned his eyes on a Leg of the Christ on which Michelagnolo was working and endeavouring to alter it; but to prevent Vasari from seeing this, he suffered the lamp to fall from his hand, and they remained in darkness. He then called to Urbino to bring a light, and stepping beyond the enclosure in which was the work, he remarked: "I am so old that death often pulls me by the cape, and bids me go with him; some day I shall fall myself, like this lamp, and the light of life will be extinguished."

With all this he took pleasure in the society of men like Menighella, a rude person and common-place painter of Valdarno, but a pleasant fellow; he came sometimes to see Michelagnolo, who made him a design of San Rocco and Sant' Antonio, which he had to paint for the country people; and this master, who would not work for kings without entreaty, often laid aside all other occupation to make designs of some simple matter for Menighella, "dressed after his own mind and fashion," as the latter would say. Among other things Menighella received from him the model of a Crucifix, which was most beautiful; he formed a mould from this also, whence Menighella made copies in various substances, and went about the country selling them. This man would sometimes make Michelagnolo laugh till he cried, more especially when he related the adventures he met with; as, for example, how a peasant, who had ordered the figure of San Francesco, made complaints that the painter had given him a grey dress, he desiring to have a finer colour, when Menighella put a pluvial

of brocade on the back of the Saint, which gladdened the peasant to his heart.

He favoured, in like manner, the stone-cutter Topolino, who imagined himself an excellent sculptor, although, in fact, a very poor creature. He passed much time at the quarries of Carrara, sending marbles to Michelagnolo, nor did he ever despatch a cargo without adding three or four little figures from his own hand, at the sight of which Michelagnolo would almost die of laughing. At length, and after his return, he had rough-hewn a figure of Mercury in marble, which he was on the point of finishing, when he begged Michelagnolo to go and see it, insisting earnestly that he should give his true opinion of the work. "Thou art a fool to attempt figures, Topolino," said the master; "for dost thou not see that, from the knee to the foot, this Mercury of thine wants a full third of a braccio of its due length? and thou hast made him a dwarf and a cripple?" "Oh, that is nothing," replied Topolino, "if it has no other fault I shall find a remedy for that, never fear me." The master laughed again at his simplicity and departed; when Topolino, sawing his Mercury in two below the knee, fastened a piece of marble nicely between the parts, and having thus added the length required, he gave the figure a pair of buskins, the fastenings of which passed beyond the junctures. He then summoned the master once more; and Michelagnolo could not but wonder as well as laugh, when he saw the resolutions of which those untaught persons are capable, when driven by their needs, and which would certainly never be taken by the best of masters.

While Michelagnolo was concluding the Tomb of Julius II., he permitted a stone-cutter to execute a terminal figure, which he desired to put up in San Pietro in Vincola, directing him meanwhile by telling him daily, "Cut away here," —"level there,"—"chisel this,"—"polish that," until the stone-cutter had made a figure before he was aware of it; but when he saw what was done, he stood lost in admiration of his work. "What dost thou think of it?" inquired

Michelagnolo. "I think it very beautiful," returned the other, "and am much obliged to you." "And for what?" demanded the artist. "For having been the means of making known to me a talent which I did not think I possessed."

But now, to bring the matter to a conclusion, I will only add, that Michelagnolo had an excellent constitution, a spare form, and strong nerves. He was not robust as a child, and as a man he had two serious attacks of illness, but he was subject to no disease, and could endure much fatigue. It is true that infirmities assailed him in his old age, but for these he was carefully treated by his friend and physician, Messer Realdo Colombo. He was of middle height, the shoulders broad, and the whole form well-proportioned. In his latter years he constantly wore stockings of dog-skin for months together, and when these were removed, the skin of the leg sometimes came with them. Over his stockings he had boots of Cordovan leather, as a protection against the swelling of those limbs, to which he then became liable. His face was round, the brow square and ample, with seven direct lines in it; the temples projected much beyond the ears, which were somewhat large, and stood a little off from the cheeks; the nose was rather flattened, having been broken with a blow of the fist by Torrigiano, as we have related in the Life of that artist; the eyes were rather small than large, of a dark colour, mingled with blue and yellowish points; the eye-brows had but few hairs; the lips were thin, the lower somewhat the larger, and slightly projecting; the chin well-formed, and in fair proportion to the rest of the face; the hair black, mingled with grey, as was the beard, which was divided in the middle, and neither very thick nor very long.

This master, as I said at the beginning, was certainly sent on the earth by God as an example for the men of our arts, to the end that they might profit by his walk in life, as well as learn from his works what a true and excellent artist ought to be. I, who have to thank God for an infinite

amount of happiness, such as is rarely granted to those of our vocation, account it among the greatest of my blessings that I was born while Michelagnolo still lived, was found worthy to have him for my master, and being trusted by him, obtained him for my friend, as every one knows, and as the letters which he has written to me clearly prove. To his kindness for me I owe it that I have been able to write many things concerning him, which others could not have related, but which, being true, shall be recorded. Another privilege, and one of which he often reminded me, is, that I have been in the service of Duke Cosimo. "Thank God for this, Giorgio," has Michelagnolo said to me; "for to enable thee to build and paint, in execution of his thoughts and designs, he spares no expense, and this, as thou seest well, by the Lives thou hast written, is a thing which few artists have experienced."

Michelagnolo was followed to his tomb by a concourse of all the artists, and by his numerous friends, receiving the most honourable sepulture from the Florentine nation, in the Church of Sant' Apostolo, within a sepulchre of which church he was laid, in the presence of all Rome, His Holiness expressing an intention to command that a monument should be erected to his memory in St. Peter's.[315]

Leonardo, the nephew of Michelagnolo, did not arrive in Rome until all was over, although he travelled post in the hope of doing so. When Duke Cosimo heard what had happened, he resolved that, as he had not been able to do the master honour in his life, he would cause his body to be brought to Florence, where his obsequies were to be solemnized with all possible splendour; but the remains of the artist had to be sent out of Rome in the manner of a bale, such as is made by merchants, that no tumult might arise in the city, and so the departure of the corpse be prevented.

[315] Such an intention on the part of the Pope was highly honorable to the artist. None but pontiffs were interred in St. Peter's, although in later times two Queens, who for the Catholic faith had lost the thrones of Sweden and England, were buried there.

But before the body could arrive, the news of the master's death having been noised abroad, the principal painters, sculptors, and architects assembled in their Academy, on the requisition of their Prorector, who was at that time Don Vincenzio Borghini, they being obliged by their rules to solemnize the obsequies of all their brethren. They had done this most affectionately, and to the satisfaction of every one, in the case of Fra Giovan-Agnolo Montorsoli, who was the first that had died after the creation of the Academy; and it was now fitting and proper that they should resolve on what was to be done for the due honouring of Buonarroti, who had been unanimously elected first Academician and head of them all. To this proposal all replied, that, being obliged, as they were, to the genius of that great man, they desired that nothing should be omitted which could contribute to do him honour, but that everything should be accomplished in the best manner possible. That decided, and to avoid the daily assemblage of so many men, which was very inconvenient to them, as well as for the more effectual arrangement of the preparations, four persons, all of eminent reputation and distinguished in their arts, were chosen to direct the same. These were the painters Agnolo Bronzino and Giorgio Vasari, with the sculptors Benvenuto Cellini and Bartolommeo Ammannato; who were appointed to consult among themselves, and with the Prorector, as to all the arrangements to be made; they being empowered to dispose of everything belonging to the Academy: this charge they undertook the more willingly, as they saw that all the artists, young and old, came forward readily with offers to prepare, each in his several vocation, such pictures and statues as were needed for the ceremony.

It was first resolved that the Prorector and Syndics should lay all before the Duke in the name of the Academy, requesting from his Excellency such countenance and aid as they might require, the first thing to be asked being permission for the solemnization of those obsequies in the Church of San Lorenzo, which belongs to the illustrious house of

Medici, and where are the greater part of Michelagnolo's works in Florence. His Excellency was also requested to permit Messer Benedetto Varchi to pronounce the funeral oration, to the end that the greatness and excellence of Michelagnolo might be suitably set forth in the eloquence of so distinguished a man as was Varchi, but who, being in the particular service of his Excellency,[316] could not undertake that office without his permission, although they were certain that he would not of himself refuse to do so, being most kindly of nature as well as much attached to the memory of Michelagnolo. All this duly settled, and the Academicians having dispersed, the Prorector wrote to the Duke as follows :—

"The Academy and Company of Painters and Sculptors having resolved, if it please your Excellency, to do honour in some sort to the memory of Michelagnolo, not only from a consideration of what is due to the genius of him who was, perhaps, the greatest master that has ever lived, and one more particularly their own, he belonging to their common country, but also as being moved by a sense of the benefit accruing to the arts from the perfection of his works, and by the obligation laid upon them to prove their gratitude to his memory, do hereby repeat this their desire, expressed to your most illustrious Excellency in their former epistle, and do entreat from you, as their sure resource, a certain amount of assistance. I then, being requested by them and being (as I think) bound thereto, by the fact that, with your Excellency's good pleasure, I am again of their company this year under the title of your Prorector, am moved to compliance, as the undertaking appears to me worthy of upright and grateful men ; but still more as knowing the protection extended by your Excellency to the arts, and that in this age you are the sole resource and shield of distinguished men. Insomuch that you do herein surpass your illustrious ancestors, although they also conferred innumerable favours

[316] As historiographer.

on the men of these vocations; witness the Magnificent Lorenzo, who, long before his death, caused a statue to be erected in the Cathedral to Giotto,[317] with a monument in marble to Fra Filippo, all at his own cost; to say nothing of many other great and noble acts that might be named. Considering all these things, I have taken courage to recommend to your illustrious Excellency the petition of this Academy, to the effect that they may duly honour the genius of Michelagnolo, who was the disciple and especial pupil of the School created by the Magnificent Lorenzo. For this that they desire to do shall be not only to their great contentment, but also to the infinite satisfaction of all men; it will, furthermore, be no slight spur to the professors of these arts, and a proof to all Italy of the high mind and great goodness of your most illustrious Excellency, whom may God long preserve in happiness, for the advantage of your people and for the good of art."

To this the Duke replied as follows:—

"REVEREND AND WELL-BELOVED,—The promptitude which the Academy has shown, and is showing, in its preparations to honour the memory of Michelagnolo Buonarroti, who has passed from this life to a better, has consoled us much for the loss of so extraordinary a man; and not only will we do as you request, but will endeavour to have his remains brought to Florence, as, according to what we hear, was his own desire. All this we write to the Academy to encourage the members in their purpose of honouring the talents of that great man in the best manner possible; and so may God keep you in joy."

Of the letter, or memorial, mentioned above, as addressed by the Academy to the Duke, the following are the words:—

[317] The monument to Giotto consists of a bust and an inscription, that of Fra Filippo, likewise comprising a bust and monumental slab, is in the Duomo of Spoleto.

"MOST ILLUSTRIOUS, &c.—The Academy and the Men belonging to the Society of the Arts of Design, established under the grace and favour of your Most Illustrious Excellency, having heard with what care and zeal you have caused the body of Michelagnolo Buonarroti to be claimed by your ambassador in Rome, have assembled and unanimously resolved to celebrate his obsequies in the best manner possible to them. Knowing therefore that your Excellency was honoured by Michelagnolo as much as he was favoured by your Excellency, they pray you of your infinite goodness and liberality to be pleased to permit, first, that the solemnities shall be held in the Church of San Lorenzo, which was built by your ancestors, wherein are so many fine works, both in architecture and sculpture, by his hand, and near which it is your purpose to erect an abode which, for the Academy and Company of Design, shall be as it were an abiding seat of study, whether in architecture, painting, or sculpture.

"Secondly, we beg that you will commit to Messer Benedetto Varchi the charge, not only of composing the funeral oration, but also of pronouncing it with his own lips, as at our entreaty he has freely promised to do, provided your Illustrious Excellency shall consent. Thirdly, we pray that you will be pleased, out of that same goodness and liberality, to assist the Academy in all which these obsequies may demand, beyond their own power, which is very small, to supply. All and every of these things have been discussed in the presence and with the consent of the very magnificent and reverend Monsignore, Messer Vincenzio Borghini, Prior of the Innocents, the Protector of your most Illustrious Excellency, for the said Academy and Company. And your petitioners, &c."

To this the Duke replied :—

"OUR WELL-BELOVED,—We are well content fully to grant your petitions, for the great love that we have ever borne to the rare genius of Michelagnolo Buonarroti, and

which we still bear to all of your vocation. Do you therefore execute whatever you propose to do for his obsequies, and we, on our part, will not fail to supply what you may need. We have, meanwhile, written to Messer Benedetto respecting the oration, and to the Director concerning all else that occurs to us as needful in this matter. And herewith we bid you farewell. From Pisa."

The letter to Varchi was as follows:—

"MESSER BENEDETTO, OUR WELL-BELOVED,—The affection we bear to the great genius of Michelagnolo Buonarroti, makes us desire that his memory shall be honoured and celebrated in all ways, wherefore it will be pleasing to us, if, for our love, you will accept the care of the oration which is to be pronounced at his obsequies, according to the arrangements made by the deputies of the Academy; still more will it please us if this oration be spoken by yourself. Fare you well."

Messer Bernardino Grazzini also wrote to the abovenamed deputies, telling them that the Duke was displaying all the zeal that could be desired in that cause, and adding that they might assure themselves of all help and favour from his Most Illustrious Excellency.

While these arrangements were proceeding in Florence, Leonardo Buonarroti, the nephew of Michelagnolo (who had departed post for Rome on hearing of his uncle's sickness, but had not found him living), had been told by Daniello da Volterra, the intimate friend of Michelagnolo, as well as by others who had been about his person, that he had requested and even entreated them to have his body taken to Florence, his most noble country, to which he had ever borne the tenderest affection. Leonardo therefore had promptly and with great resolution, but also very cautiously, had the body taken out of Rome, and had sent it towards Florence in the form of a bale, as if it had been some kind of merchandise. And here we are not to conceal the fact that this ultimate

determination of Michelagnolo confirmed what many did not believe, but which was nevertheless true, namely, that his having remained away from Florence for so many years had been caused by the effect of the air only, the sharpness of which as experience had taught him, was injurious to his constitution. That of Rome, on the contrary, more temperate and mild, had kept him in health to nearly his ninetieth year, preserving all his faculties in perfection, and giving him so much strength, his age considered, that he had not been compelled to cease entirely from his labours, till the very last.

The sudden and almost unexpected arrival of the body, not having permitted such dispositions for its reception as were afterwards made, it was placed, by desire of the deputies, in the vault of the Company of the Assumption, which is beneath the steps at the back of the High Altar in the Church of San Pietro Maggiore. This was on the 11th of March, which was a Saturday, and for that day nothing more was done. The next day, which was the second Sunday in Lent, all the painters, sculptors, and architects assembled quietly around St. Peter's, whither they had taken nothing more than a pall of velvet, richly decorated and embroidered all over with gold, and this they placed over the bier as well as coffin, on which there lay a crucifix. At nightfall they gathered silently around the corpse, when the oldest and most distinguished masters each took one of a large number of torches, which had been brought for that purpose, the younger artists at the same moment raising the bier ; this they did with so much promptitude that blessed was he who could approach near enough to get a shoulder under it, all desiring the glory of having to say in after years that they had borne to earth the remains of the greatest man ever known to their arts.

The sight of a certain number of persons assembling round San Pietro, had caused others to stop, and the rather as a rumour had got abroad, that the body of Michelagnolo had come, and was to be carried to Santa Croce, although every-

thing had been done to keep the matter secret, as I have said, that a great crowd might not be attracted, which could not fail to cause confusion, and also because it was desired that all then to be done should proceed with more quiet than pomp, all display being reserved to a more convenient time. Yet the contrary happened in both these things; for as to the crowd, the news passing from mouth to mouth, the Church was completely filled in the twinkling of an eye, so that at length it was not without the utmost difficulty that the corpse could be taken from the Church to the Sacristy, there to be freed from its wrappings, and placed in the receptacle destined to receive it. Then for the pomp—although the number of priests, wax-lights, and mourners clothed in black, are without doubt imposing and grand in funeral ceremonies, yet it cannot be denied that the sight of all the distinguished men, some of whom are now highly honoured, and others promising to be still more so in the future, gathered in so much affection around that corpse, was also a very grand and imposing spectacle.

And of a truth the number of such artists (and they were all present) was at that time very great in Florence; the Arts have indeed ever flourished there in such sort, that without offence to other cities, I believe I may say that their first and principal abode is in Florence, as that of the Sciences was at Athens. But besides the number of artists, there were so many citizens following them, and such masses of people joined the procession in the streets through which it had to pass, that the place would hold no more, and what is greater than all, nothing was heard but the praise of Michelagnolo. True art has indeed so much power, that after all hope of further honour or profit from a distinguished man has ceased, yet for its own merit and qualities it is ever beloved and admired. For all these causes, that demonstration was more precious and more truthful than all the pomp of gold and banners that could have been displayed.

When the remains, with this magnificent attendance, had

been carried to Santa Croce, the Monks performed the ceremonies customary for the dead; when the corpse was removed (but not without the greatest difficulty, because of the concourse of people) to the Sacristy, where the above-named Prorector, who was there by virtue of his office, thinking to gratify many thereby, and also (as he afterwards confessed) desirous of seeing him dead whom he had not seen living, or at so early an age that he had lost all memory of him; the Prorector, I say, resolved to have the cerements taken off. This was done accordingly, and whereas he, and all of us who were present, expected to find the body decomposed, since the master had been dead twenty-five days, and twenty-two in the coffin, we found it altogether perfect, and so totally free from odour that we were almost tempted to believe he lay in a sweet and quiet sleep. The features were exactly as in life, except that they showed the pallor of death; the limbs were unaltered, and the face and cheeks were firm to the touch, as though but a few days had elapsed since Michelagnolo had passed away.[318]

When the great press of people had departed, arrangements were made for placing the body in a tomb of the church which is near the altar of the Cavalcanti family, beside the door leading into the cloister of the Chapter House. But meanwhile the news had spread through the city, and so great a concourse hastened to look upon the corpse, that the tomb was not closed without much difficulty, and if it

[318] The tomb (1570) in Santa Croce was designed by Vasari. On the sarcophagus is a bust of Michelangelo with statues of Sculpture by Valerio Cioli, Architecture by Giovanni Bandini, Painting by Batista Lorenzi, to whom the rest of the tomb is due. Michelangelo had desired to put up his own tomb in a chapel of Santa Croce, the monks agreed, but the members of the *Fabbrica* refused, perhaps fearing that he would begin it and leave it unfinished. An honorary tomb to Michelangelo by the sculptor Jacopo del Duca exists in a corridor adjoining the church of the Apostoli in Rome. Leonardo Buonarroti, a nephew, paid for it as well as for the Florentine tomb; for the latter the Grand Duke Cosimo gave the marbles. The sarcophagus in Santa Croce was opened in the middle of the eighteenth century, and the body was entire; in September, 1857, the remains were again examined, and were found to have crumbled to dust. See M. de Montaiglon, *L'Œuvre et la Vie*, pp. 299, 300.

had been day instead of night, we must have left it open many hours to satisfy the general wish. On the following morning, while the painters and sculptors were preparing the solemnities, many of those distinguished persons who have ever abounded in Florence, began to append verses, both in Latin and the vulgar tongue, on the above-named tomb, and this was continued for some time. Many of these compositions were afterwards printed, yet these made only a small part of the number written.

But to come to the obsequies; these were not solemnized on St. John's day, as had been intended, but were deferred to the 14th of July, when the three deputies (for the fourth, Benvenuto Cellini, who had been indisposed from the first, had taken no part in the matter), having chosen the sculptor, Zanobi Lastricati, as their Proveditor, resolved to exhibit some ingenious invention worthy of their art, rather than pompous and costly ceremonial. For, having to celebrate such a man as Michelagnolo, and this having to be effected by men of those vocations which he exercised, who are always more amply furnished with the wealth of mind than with other riches; it was most appropriate, as the deputies and their Proveditor agreed, that he should be honoured, not with regal pomp or superfluous vanities, but with ingenious inventions and works full of spirit and beauty, proceeding from the knowledge, ability, and promptitude of hand of our artist, thus honouring Art by Art. It is true that we might have reasonably expected to obtain from his Excellency all the money we should require, seeing that he had already given whatever we had asked, but we were nevertheless convinced that from us was expected a preparation; rich from its ingenuity and art, rather than the grandeur and cost of a pompous display. But although this was the conviction of the deputies, the magnificence of the ceremonial was equal to that of any ever solemnized by those academicians, and was no less remarkable for true splendour than for ingenious and praiseworthy inventions.

The arrangements finally made were as follows. In the

central nave of San Lorenzo and between the two lateral doors, one of which opens on the street and the other on the cloister, was erected a Catafalque of a square form, twenty-eight braccia high, eleven long, and nine broad, the whole surmounted by a figure of Fame. On the basement of the Catafalque, and at two braccia from the floor, on that side which looks towards the principal door of the Church, were two River-gods, the Arno and the Tiber. The first bore a cornucopia with its flowers and fruits, to signify that the labours of our vocations in the city of Florence are such and so rich in fruits as to fill the world, but more especially adorning Rome with their beauties; a thought well carried out by the attitude of the other river, for the Tiber, extending one arm, had the hand full of the flowers and fruits poured forth from the horn of the Arno, which lay beside and opposite to the Tiber. The enjoyment by this last of the Arno's fruits also implied that Michelagnolo had spent much of his life in Rome, and there produced those works which astonish the world. The Arno had a Lion beside him as his device, and the Tiber a Wolf, with the infants Romulus and Remus; both the River-gods being colossal figures of extraordinary beauty and excellence, and having the appearance of marble. The artist who executed the Tiber was Giovanni di Benedetto of Castello, a disciple of Baccio Bandinelli; the Arno was from the hand of Battista di Benedetto, a disciple of Ammannato, both young men of much promise.

From the basement there rose a structure five braccia high, having a cornice at the upper and lower parts as well as at the angles; space for the reception of pictures was left in the centre of each side. The picture on the part where the River-gods were, and which, like all the others, was in chiaro-scuro, represented the Magnificent Lorenzo, in his garden, an old man receiving Michelagnolo as a child, having seen certain indications of his genius, which may be said to have intimated, in the manner of flowers, the rich fruits afterwards so largely produced by the grandeur and force of

that genius. This story was painted by Mirabello, and by Girolamo del Crocifissaio, as they were called, and who, being companions and friends, undertook to do it together. The attitude of Lorenzo, whose figure was a portrait from the life, exhibited great animation; his reception of Michelagnolo was most gracious: the boy stood before him with looks of reverence, and having been examined, was in the act of being passed over to the masters by whom he was to be instructed.

In the second story, or that on the side of the lateral door, which opens into the street, was Pope Clement, who, far from resenting the part taken by Michelagnolo in the siege of Florence, as is commonly believed, was careful to assure his safety, gave evidence of much friendly feeling towards him, and employed him in the works of the New Sacristy and Library of San Lorenzo, in which places how admirably he acquitted himself we have already set forth. This picture was painted with much facility and softness by the Fleming Federigo, called the Paduan. Michelagnolo was showing the Pope the plan of the Sacristy; and behind him, borne partly by angels, and partly by other figures, were carried the models of the Library, the Sacristy, and the statues which have been completed, all well composed and carefully executed. In the third picture, which faced the High Altar, was a long Latin inscription, composed by the very learned Messer Pier Vettori, the meaning of which in the Italian tongue, was as follows:—

"The Academy of Painters, Sculptors, and Architects, by favour of the Duke Cosimo de' Medici, their chief, and the supreme protector of these arts, admiring the extraordinary genius of Michelagnolo Buonarroti, and acknowledging the benefits received from his divine works, have dedicated this monument, erected by their own hands, and consecrated with all the affection of their hearts, to the eminence and genius of the greatest painter, sculptor, and architect that has ever existed."

The Latin words were these :—

*Collegium pictorum, statuariorum, architectorum, auspicio opique sibi prompta Cosmi ducis auctoris suorum commodorum, suspiciens singularem virtutem Michaelis Angeli Bonarrotæ, intelligensque quanto sibi auxilio semper fuerit* præclara ipsius opera, studuit se gratum erga illum ostendere, summum omnium, qui unquam fuerint,* P. S. A. *ideoque monumentum hoc suis manibus extructum magno animi ardore ipsius memoriæ dedicavit.*

This inscription was supported by two Angels weeping, and each extinguishing the torch which he held in his hand, as if lamenting the loss of that great and extraordinary genius. In the picture of that side which turned towards the door of the Cloister was Michelagnolo engaged in constructing the fortifications of the Heights of San Miniato, and which were considered impregnable : this was by Lorenzo Sciorini, the disciple of Bronzino, and a youth of much promise. The lowermost part, or what may be called the base of the whole fabric, had a projecting pedestal on each side, and on each pedestal was a colossal figure, having another at its feet in the manner of a captive, and of similar size, but in the most singular and abject attitude. The first, or that on the right as you approach the High Altar, was a youth of slender form, and a countenance full of life and spirit, representing Genius, and with two small wings on his temples, as Mercury is sometimes depicted : beneath his feet, and executed with remarkable ability, was a figure with asinine ears, representing Ignorance, the mortal enemy of Genius. These were both by Vincenzio Danti, of Perugia ; of whom and of his works, which are much distinguished among the young sculptors of the day, we shall speak more at length hereafter.

On the Pedestal opposite to this, and facing the new Sacristy, was a female figure representing Christian Love ; for this, being made up of religion, and every other excellence, is no less than an aggregate of all those qualities

* *Fuerint* in the Milanesi edition.

which we call the cardinal, and the Pagans the moral virtues, and was thus appropriately placed in the monument of Michelagnolo, since it beseems Christians to celebrate the Christian virtues, without which all other ornaments of body or mind are as nothing. This figure, which had Vice, or Impiety, trampled beneath its feet, was by Valerio Cioli, an excellent youth of much ability, and who well merits the name of a judicious and diligent sculptor. Opposite to the above, and on the side of the old Sacristy, was a figure of the goddess Minerva, or Art; and this was placed there with much judgment, since after a pure life and upright walk, which among the good are ever to be held the first, it was Art that gave to Michelagnolo, not honour and riches only, but so much glory, even in his life, that he may with truth be said to have then enjoyed, more than most of our illustrious artists obtain from their works even after death; nay, to him it was given even to overcome envy, seeing that by common consent, and without any contradiction, the reputation of being the first and greatest has been accorded to his name. For this reason the figure of Art had Envy beneath her feet; the latter an old woman, meagre, worn, and with viperous eyes, which, together with all her countenance and every feature, were breathing poison and bitterness; she wore a girdle of snakes about her waist, and had a serpent in her hand. These figures were executed by a youth of very tender age, called Lazzaro Calamec of Carrara, who, though still but a child, has given evidence of most distinguished talent, both in painting and sculpture.

It was by his uncle, Andrea Calamec, who was a disciple of Ammannato, that the two figures placed on the fourth pedestal were prepared; these were opposite the organ, and looked towards the principal door of the Church. The first of the two represented Diligence; for those who act but feebly, and effect but little, cannot hope to attain the excellence of Michelagnolo, who, from his fifteenth to his ninetieth year, never ceased to labour earnestly, as we have said above. This figure, most appropriate to the monu-

ment of such a man, exhibited the appearance of a bold, powerful youth, having small wings a little above the wrist, to intimate the promptitude and facility of his operations. Beneath him, as his captive, was Indolence or Idleness; a heavy, weary-looking woman, bearing an impress of sleepy dulness over all her person.

These four groups, arranged as here described, formed a beautiful and magnificent composition, and had all the appearance of being in marble, the *terra* having been covered with a coat of white, which had succeeded admirably. From the level platform on which they were placed, there rose another basement, also quadrangular, and about four braccia high, but neither so long nor so broad as that below, which surpassed it by all the space occupied by the figures above-described. On each side of the second basement was a Picture six and a half braccia wide and three high; and over these arose a platform, similar to but smaller than that beneath, on each angle of which was a projecting socle occupied by a seated figure, somewhat larger than life. These four statues, all of women, were readily perceived, by the instruments beside them, to be Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, and Poetry, and were judiciously placed here, as the Life of Michelagnolo, above written, may fully prove.

Proceeding from the principal door of the Church toward the High Altar, the first painting in the second range of the Catafalque appeared, and referring to the Statue of Architecture, it presented Michelagnolo standing before Pope Pius IV., with the Model of the wonderful Cupola of San Pietro in his hand. This Story was over that in which Lorenzo receives Michelagnolo in his garden, the invention and manner of which were highly commended; it was painted by the Florentine Piero Francia; and the Statue of Architecture, which was to the left of the Story, was by Giovanni di Benedetto, of Castello, who, so much to his credit, also executed the Tiber, one of the rivers in front of the Catafalque, as we have before said. In the second Pict-

ure, continuing towards the right and approaching the lateral door into the street, was a Picture to accompany the Statue of Painting, and representing Michelagnolo engaged in the execution of that so much, yet never sufficiently, lauded work, the Last Judgment; that, I say, which serves as the example to all in our vocation of foreshortening, and every other difficulty of the art. To the left of this Painting, which was executed with much grace and diligence by the disciples of Michele di Ridolfo, was the Statue of Painting by Battista del Cavaliere, a youth no less distinguished as a sculptor, than for the modesty and excellence of his life.

In the third Picture, or that towards the High Altar and above the inscription, was a Story relating to Sculpture, and showing Michelagnolo taking counsel with a female figure known to be Sculpture by her accompaniments; the artist has around him certain of the works executed by his hand in that branch of art, and the Figure holds a Tablet, with the words of Boëthius: *Simili sub imagine formans.* Beside this picture, which was painted in a very good manner by Andrea del Minga, was the Statue of Sculpture, extremely well executed by Antonio di Gino Lorenzi. The fourth of these pictures, or that towards the organ, related to the Statue of Poetry, and exhibited the master intent on the writing of some composition. Around him, in a graceful band, robed as the poets describe them, were the Nine Muses, and before them Apollo, crowned with laurel, and bearing the Lyre in one hand; while in the other he held a second Crown of Laurel, which he appeared about to place on the head of Michelagnolo. Near to this graceful and beautiful Story, which was painted in an admirable manner, with figures exhibiting attitudes of infinite animation, by Giovanmaria Butteri, was the Statue of Poetry, the work of Domenico Poggini, a man of much experience in the casting of bronze, the making of dies for coin, and the execution of medals; nor was he less remarkable as a writer of poetry.

Thus it was then that the Catafalque was adorned, and as it diminished at every stage there was a walk entirely around each platform; it was indeed not unlike the Mausoleum of Augustus in Rome; or rather, being of square form, it was more like the Septizonium of Severus; not that near the Capitol, which is commonly called so by an error, but the true one, near the Baths of Antoninus, of which there is a plate in the *Nuove Rome.*

Up to this point the Catafalque had three stages; the first on which were the River-gods, the second where were the groups, and the third on which stood the single figures. From the platform of the last stage there rose a base or socle, one braccio high, much smaller than the platform on which it was placed; and above the ressaults of which were seated the Statues, as before-mentioned, while around it were the words, *Sic ars extollitur arte.* On the socle was a Pyramid, nine braccia high, on two sides of which, that towards the principal door namely, and that towards the High Altar, were two oval compartments, each bearing the head of Michelagnolo in relief; a Portrait from the life, and admirably executed by Santi Buglioni.

On the summit of the Pyramid was a Ball in due proportion with the same, and supposed to be placed there as representing one that might contain the ashes of him so highly honoured; while above the Ball was a figure, larger than life, with the appearance of marble, and representing Fame in the act of commencing her flight to cause the glory and praise of that greatest of masters to resound through the whole world; she being about to place to her lips a trumpet which terminated in three mouths for that purpose.

This figure of Fame was by the hand of Zanobi Lastricati, who, in addition to all his labours as Proveditor for the whole, would yet, to his great honour, assist with the force of his genius and the labour of his hand also. The height of the Catafalque, from the floor to the head of the Fame, was twenty-eight braccia, as we have said. Besides the

Catafalque, the Church was hung with baize and serge, not around the central columns only, as is customary, but about all the surrounding Chapels also; nor was there any space between the pilasters, which stand on each side of those Chapels and correspond with the Columns, which had not some ornament of painting, or which did not present a beautiful and imposing aspect.

To begin with one end, in the space of the first Chapel, which is beside the High Altar, and proceeding towards the old Sacristy, there was a picture six braccia high and eight long, wherein, with a new and almost poetical invention, Michelagnolo was displayed as having attained the Elysian fields. On his right hand were figures larger than life, representing the most renowned of the great painters and sculptors of antiquity, each made clearly manifest by some particular sign; Praxiteles, by the Satyr which is in the Vigna of Pope Julius III.; Apelles, by the portrait of Alexander the Great; Zeuxis, by that picture with the grapes which deceived the birds; and Parrhasius with the pretended curtain covering the picture. The others, also, were in like manner made known by other signs.

On the left of Michelagnolo were the masters of modern times, all those who have been most illustrious in these arts, from Cimabue downward that is to say. Thus Giotto was known by a small portrait of Dante as a youth, depicted in the same manner as that by his hand which is still to be seen in the Church of Santa Croce. Masaccio was a portrait from the life; as was also Donatello, who had besides his Zuccone of the Campanile beside him. Filippo Brunelleschi was made known by the copy of his Cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore; then followed (portraits from the life and without any other sign) Fra Filippo, Taddeo Gaddi, Paolo Uccello, Fra Giovann' Agnolo, Jacopo Pontormo, Francesco Salviati, and others; all surrounding Michelagnolo with a welcome similar to that offered by the masters of antiquity, and giving evidence in their looks of their love and admiration for him, no other than was done for Virgil

when the other poets received him on his return, as feigned by the divine poet Dante, from whom the invention was taken, as was likewise the verse which was added and which was exhibited on a scroll held in the hand of the River-god Arno, which lay at the feet of Michelagnolo in a most graceful attitude, and with features of singular beauty.

"*Tutti l'ammiran, Tutti amor* gli fanno.*"

This picture, which was by the hand of Alessandro Allori, the disciple of Bronzino, an excellent painter and most worthy scholar of so great a master, was very highly extolled by all who beheld it. In the space of the Chapel of the Holy Sacrament, at the end of the cross aisle, was a picture five braccia long and four broad, wherein was Michelagnolo surrounded by all the School of the Arts; little children, boys and young men of every age up to twenty-four, all offering to him, as to something sacred and divine, the first-fruits of their labours, paintings, sculptures, models, &c., all which he was courteously receiving, instructing them at the same time in questions of Art, while they gave ear to his precepts with reverent attention, and were looking at him with exquisite expressions of countenance, and in attitudes truly beautiful and graceful. In effect the composition of this picture is such that it could not in a certain sense have been done better; nor, as respects some of the figures, could anything more beautiful be desired; for which cause Battista, the disciple of Pontormo, by whom it was painted received infinite praise. The verses at the foot of this picture were as follows:—

*Tu pater et rerum inventor, tu patria nobis*
*Suppeditas præcepta tuis ex, inclyte, chartis.*

Descending from this picture towards the principal door of the Church, just before you arrived at the organ, was another, six braccia long and four broad, in the space of a

* Read *onor* for *amor*.

Chapel, and on this was depicted the extraordinary favour conferred by Julius III., when, desiring to avail himself of the great master's talents, he invited him to the Vigna Julia, and caused him to be seated beside himself. Here then Michelagnolo was seen in conversation with the Pontiff, while the cardinals, bishops, and other great personages of the Court remained standing around them. This event, I say, was here depicted with such admirable composition and so much relief, the force and animation of the figures was so remarkable, that it could not perhaps have been much better had it proceeded from the hand of an old and experienced master. Wherefore, Jacopo Zucchi, a young disciple of Giorgio Vasari, by whom it was executed in so good a manner, was judged to have hereby proved that the best hopes of his future progress might reasonably be entertained. Not far from this, and on the same side, a little beneath the organ that is to say, the able Flemish painter, Giovanni Strada, had painted a picture six braccia long and four high, wherein he depicted an event from the period of Michelagnolo's visit to Venice, at the time of the Siege of Florence. The master is in the Guidecca, a quarter of that most noble city so called ; and is receiving a deputation of Venetian gentlemen, whom the Doge, Andrea Gritti, had sent to visit him and make him offers of service. In this work the painter above-named showed much knowledge and judgment, the whole composition and every part of it doing him much honour, seeing that the propriety and grace of the attitudes, the animation of the faces, and the life-like movement imparted to each figure, gave proof of rich inventive power, great knowledge of design, and infinite grace.

We now return to the High Altar, and looking towards the new Sacristy : in the first picture exhibited there, which was that in the space of the first Chapel, was represented another signal favour enjoyed by Michelagnolo, and which was here depicted by Santi Titi, a young man of great judgment, and who had practised painting extensively in

Florence as well as in Rome. This favour, to which I think I have before alluded, was conferred at the visit paid by the master to the most illustrious Signor Don Francesco Medici, Prince of Florence, when the latter was in Rome about three years before Michelagnolo died. No sooner did Buonarroti enter the room, than the Prince rose from his seat; and, to do honour to the truly venerable age of that great man, he would have him be seated in his own place, although Michelagnolo, who was exceedingly modest, refused to accept that courtesy. Then, standing before him with the utmost respect, the Prince listened to his words with all the reverence and attention that could have been shown by a son to the best of fathers. At the feet of Don Francesco, in the painting of Santi Titi, was a Boy admirably depicted, who held the beretta, or ducal cap, of the Prince in his hand, and around the group stood soldiers dressed in the antique fashion, and executed in a very good manner. But best of all were the figures of Michelagnolo and the Prince, which were so full of animation that the old man appeared to be truly speaking, and the youth to be attentively listening to his words.

In another picture, nine braccia high and twelve long, which was opposite to the Tabernacle of the Sacrament, Bernardo Timante Buontalenti, a painter much favoured by the most Illustrious Prince, had painted the Rivers of the three principal parts of the world, representing these River-gods as having all come, downcast and sorrowful, to lament and condole with the Arno for their common loss. These rivers were the Nile, the Ganges, and the Po; the first had the Crocodile for his symbol, with a sheaf of corn to intimate the fertility of his country: the Ganges had the Gryphon and a coronal of gems; and the Po a Swan, with a chaplet of black amber. The River-gods, conducted into Tuscany by Fame, whose figure was seen hovering above them, were standing around the Arno, who was crowned with cypress, and, holding aloft his exhausted urn in the one hand, had a branch of cypress in the other: be-

neath the feet of the Arno was a Lion. Then, to intimate that the spirit of Michelagnolo had ascended to the regions of bliss, the judicious painter had depicted a Story or Splendour in Heaven, significant of the celestial light; and towards this the soul of Michelagnolo, in the form of a little angel, was seen ascending, with the following verse:—

*Vivens orbe peto laudibus æthera.*

On each side of this picture were pedestals with statues holding back a curtain, within which those River-gods, the soul of Michelagnolo, and the figure of Fame appeared. The statues on the pedestals had figures beneath their feet, that on the right of the Rivers respecting Vulcan. He has a torch in one hand; and beneath him, in an attitude of much constraint, is Hatred, labouring to free himself from the weight imposed on his neck by the foot of his conqueror. The Symbol of this group was a Vulture with the verse which follows:—

*Surgere quid properas Odium crudele? Jaceto.*

Signifying that supernatural, nay, almost divine excellence, should by no means be either envied or hated; the second statue, representing Aglaia, one of the Graces, and the wife of Vulcan. She was placed there to signify Proportion, and had a Lily in her hand, partly because flowers are dedicated to the Graces, and also because Lilies are considered to be not inappropriately used in funeral ceremonies. The figure beneath this statue represented Disproportion (or Deformity), her symbol was an Ape, and over her was the following verse:—

*Vivus et extinctus, docuit sic sternere turpe.*

Beneath the River-gods were the two verses following:—

*Venimus Arne, tuo confixa ex vulnere mœsta*
*Flumina, ut ereptum mundo ploremus honorem.*

This picture also was considered very fine for its invention, for the composition of the story, the beauty of the

figures and that of the verses, as also because the painter had not executed the work by commission as the others had done, but had spontaneously, and with the help of certain among the obliging and respectable friends which his abilities had gained him, thus done honour to the master by these his labours. For this cause, therefore, Bernardo both deserved and obtained the greater commendation.

In another picture, six braccia long and four high which was near the side-door opening on the street, Tommaso da San Friano, a young painter of much ability, had depicted Michelagnolo when despatched by his country as Ambassador to Pope Julius II., as we have said that he was sent, and for what causes, by Soderini. Not far distant from this picture, a little lower down than the side-door that is to say, was one of similar size by Stefano Pieri, a disciple of Bronzino, and a very studious careful youth. He had paid several visits to Rome no long time previously, and now painted Michelagnolo as seated in an apartment in conversation with Duke Cosimo, which he frequently did at that period, as we have sufficiently related in other places.

Above the black cloth with which, as we have said, the Church was hung all round, in all the spaces where there were no pictures or stories, were placed images of death, escutcheons, devices, and other objects of like sort, all differing from those usually seen, and exhibiting much ingenuity. Some of the figures of death, as if lamenting that they had robbed the world of such a man, held a tablet with these words, *Cœgit dura necessitas*, with a globe of the world, out of which was growing a Lily bearing three blossoms, but the stalk of which was broken, the ingenious invention of the above-named Alessandro Allori. Other figures of Death were represented with various peculiarities, but one among these was more especially commended. This was extended on the Earth, and a figure of Eternity holding a palm in the hand, stood over it with one foot planted on the neck and looking disdainfully at Death, appeared to say, that whether acting by force or his own will, he had effected nothing,

since, despite of him, Michelagnolo must live to all eternity. The motto was *Vicit inclyta virtus.* This was the invention of Vasari.

Nor will I omit to mention, that between these figures of Death was mingled the device of Michelagnolo, which was three coronals or circlets, interwoven in such sort that the circumference of one crossed alternately through the centres of the other two. This Michelagnolo used either because he meant to signify that the three arts of Sculpture, Painting, and Architecture were so bound and united that each received benefit and ornament from the other, and neither can nor ought to be divided; or perhaps (he being a man of so high a genius), because he had some more subtle meaning in view. But the Academicians, considering the perfection to which he had attained in all three, one having aided and embellished the other, changed these three circlets into three crowns interwoven, with the motto, *Tergeminis tollit honoribus,* to signify that the crown of perfection had been merited by him in all these arts.[319]

On the pulpit whence Varchi pronounced the funeral oration,[320] which was afterwards printed, there was no ornament placed, since, being that in bronze and marble, which had been executed in mezzo and basso-rilievo by the excellent Donatello, whatever decoration had been attempted must have proved infinitely less beautiful than itself. But

[319] The words used in the original are, first, "*tre corone, o vero tre cerchi intrecciati insieme;*" then he says the Academicians changed it to "*i tre cerchi in tre corone,*" simply reversing the words. Probably the circlets became chaplets, as in the engraved title-page to Condivi (second edition). In the life of Montelupo, Vasari says that the device used by the Academicians with these interwoven circlets was *Levan al cielo nostro intelletto.*

[320] In 1564, under the title "*Orazione funerale fatta e recitata nell' esequie di Michelangelo Buonarroti in Firenze nella chiesa di San Lorenzo, indiretta al molto magnifico e reverendo monsignore messer Vincenzio Borghini, Priore degl' Innocenti.*" It is one of our most valuable sources of information regarding Michelangelo. Salviati's discourse was published at Florence in the same year. The epitaphs were published at the same time under the title "*Poesie di diversi autori latini e vulgari, fatte nella morte di Michelagnolo, Buonarroti, raccolte per Domenico Legati.*"

on the pulpit opposite to this, and which had not then been raised on its columns, there was placed a picture four braccia high, and somewhat more than two wide, on which a figure of admirable design and execution was painted by the Perugian sculptor, Vincenzio Danti, of whom we have already made mention, and shall speak further hereafter. It represented Fame, or Honour, under the semblance of a youth in a fine attitude, and bearing a trumpet in the right hand, while his feet are planted on the figures of Time and Death, to show that Fame and Honour, in despite of Death and Time, maintain those who have powerfully acted in this life, in perpetual memory of their fellow-men.[321]

The Church being prepared in this manner was furthermore adorned by numerous lights, and was filled by an incalculable number of the people; all of whom, abandoning every other care, had thronged to behold that honourable solemnity. When the procession entered the building, there first came the Prorector of the Academy, accompanied by the Captain and Halbardiers of the Duke's Guard, and

[321] The four hundredth anniversary of the birth of Michelangelo was celebrated in Florence in September, 1875. To the balls, banquets, concerts, and speeches usual to such celebrations was added the presence of visitors, Italian and foreign, famous in arts and letters. Two madrigals of Michelangelo set to music in the sixteenth century were given at the official concert in the Hall of the Five Hundred, at the Palazzo Vecchio. After the concert a long procession, made up of various societies and of the distinguished visitors, marched from the Piazza della Signoria to the house of Michelangelo, where speeches were made; the *cortége* then passed onward to Santa Croce and to still other discourses; last of all, the procession, followed by a great crowd, climbed the hill of San Miniato, where a monument to Michelangelo was inaugurated. The monument is made up of bronzes; the central figure is a colossal copy of the David, and the four recumbent figures of the San Lorenzo sacristy grouped about the pedestal. There is no more impressive material in Europe, but the combination of a colossal stripling surmounting four figures of heroic size is illogical and ineffective to such a degree that the result is worse than unsatisfactory. Among the distinguished visitors or Florentines were Ubertino Perazzi, Aurelio Gotti, Charles Blanc, Meissonier, Paul Mantz, Léon Bonnât, Dupré the sculptor, Leighton, Burton, de Fabris, Lützow, Barbet de Jouy, Louis Gonse, Paul de St. Victor, Charles Garnier, and Eugène Guillaume. For a picturesque account of the centenary see M. Louis Gonse, in *L'Œuvre et la Vie*, pp. 319–328; see also Bibliography.

followed by the Syndics, the Academicians, and all the Painters, Sculptors, and Architects of Florence. These having taken their places between the Catafalque and the High Altar, where they had for some time been awaited by a large number of nobles and gentlemen, all seated according to their rank, a solemn mass for the dead was begun, with music, and all the ceremonies usual on the highest occasions. That finished, Varchi mounted the pulpit above-mentioned, to fulfil an office which he had last undertaken for the most illustrious lady, the Duchess of Ferrara, daughter of Duke Cosimo, and had never accepted since; then, with that elegance of manner, those modes of utterance, and that tone of voice, which are indeed peculiar to that distinguished man, he described the merits, life, and works of the divine Michelagnolo Buonarroti.

And assuredly it is to be reputed as a great happiness for Michelagnolo that he did not die before the creation of our Academy, seeing that his funeral ceremonies were solemnized by that Society with pomp so magnificent and so honourable. Very fortunate was he, likewise, in having departed before Varchi was removed from this life to that of eternal blessedness, since he could not have been eulogized by a more eloquent or more learned man. The funeral oration pronounced by Messer Benedetto was printed no long time afterwards, as was also another equally beautiful oration, made in praise of Michelagnolo and of Painting, by the most noble and most learned Messer Leonardo Salviati, then a youth of but twenty-two years old, although distinguished by his compositions of all kinds, both in Latin and the vulgar tongue, to the extent which we all know, and which will be further made manifest to the world by his future efforts. But what shall I say, or what can I say, that will not be too little, of the ability, goodness, and foresight displayed by the very reverend Signor Prorector, Don Vincenzio Borghini? if it be not that, with him for their chief guide and counsellor, the highly distinguished men of that Academy and Company succeeded to perfection in the

solemnization of these obsequies. For although each of them was capable of effecting much more in his particular branch of art than he was called on to accomplish on that occasion; yet can no undertaking be brought to a successful conclusion unless one sole head, in the manner of an experienced pilot and captain, have the direction and government of the work. [322] [323]

[322] Charles Garnier, the architect of the Paris Opera-house, contributes to *L'Œuvre et la Vie* the article upon Michelangelo as Architect, and does not hesitate to say that tradition errs in giving to Buonarroti an equal triple crown as painter, sculptor, and architect; the great artist, who was a god when he handled chisel or brush, "becoming almost a simple mortal when he was architect." Garnier adds, "Michelangelo, to be frank, was not an architect, but rather a man who made architecture, quite a different matter;" generally, too, the architecture of a painter and sculptor, that is to say, having color, amplitude, imagination, but which testified to insufficient study and incomplete education. The thought may be great and powerful, the execution is always feeble and *naïve*. Garnier says further, that Michelangelo ignores the language of architecture, that having strength, will, personality, and amplitude, that which makes a great composer, he nevertheless "does not know his grammar, indeed hardly knows how to write." He declares that Michelangelo has great thoughts, but when he comes to architectural details, or secondary *ensembles* (the muscles of a building), he locates them arbitrarily, and they are good or bad accordingly as his subordinates are more or less skilful. He compares the great Tuscan to one who writes the *scenario* of drama which turns out well or ill as his comedians may be excellent actors or the reverse. Nevertheless, in summing up all this, he admits that Michelangelo, by the intuition of genius, succeeds in giving to some of his buildings a style and a large character which few architects really worthy of the name have been able to achieve. M. Müntz, *La Fin de la Renaissance*, p. 238, note 1, remarks that the censure of Garnier was met by lively protestations. "I do not wish to renew the discussion, therefore will limit myself to declaring that, if Michelangelo committed errors, they were fortunate errors, since they so completely renewed the art of building and bequeathed to us such marvels as the Chapel of the Medici and the dome of St. Peter's." Mr. Russell Sturgis, speaking with authority as architect, says (Michelangelo, Johnson's Universal Encyclopædia, 1895), "Michelangelo has, however, no high rank as an architect; for the power of conceiving a graceful form, without much capacity to give it organic and constructional life, and with little knowledge of details, is not a very rare nor a very exalted gift. His influence on architecture was bad, or at least was not good, not calculated to oppose the evil tendencies of his time in Italy." Mr. Sturgis adds, nevertheless, that Michelangelo's achievement remains, in its highest reach, "true fine art, as being the creation of the mind which had previously saturated itself with knowledge of nature, but still causing far more astonishment than love, and more fitted to stimulate than to teach."

[323] The personality of Michelangelo is so tremendous, he is so different from

Now the whole city could not sufficiently examine the above-named preparations in one day, it was therefore decided, by command of the Signor Duke, that the ornaments should remain, and the Church continued thus adorned during several weeks, for the satisfaction of his

all other artists who have gone before, or come after him, that when the critic is called upon to place the sculptor, painter, architect in the long series of Italian artists, his formidable figure starts forth from the frame and will not be fitted to any usual environment. But the more Michelangelo is studied the more this "man with four souls" is seen to have been in his central artistic consciousness a sculptor; moreover—we have the word of another sculptor for it, this autocratically personal artist underwent the gradual evolution of a sculptor. Though he so impressed his own character upon his own style, that once formed it was perhaps more completely *sui generis* than that of any artist who has lived, yet he did form it, he felt the influence of antiquity in the Medici gardens, and in his first visit to Rome he felt, too, the influence of predecessors and vibrated instinctively to the quality of force in others; grave force in Giotto, rude force in Della Quercia, feverishly vital force in Donatello, violent force in Signorelli. He became the disciple of Savonarola, the spiritual brother of Dante, the interpreter of the Hebrew prophets; he lived among Titans and his creations were Promethean; *Man* and man's body alone in nature interested him, and the body used as the material for the expression of his thought became colossal to suit that thought whose purpose was to picture the creation, the promise of redemption, and the wrath to come. When the hand could no longer hold the chisel it raised the highest architectural form in Europe, the prototype of modern domes.

The work of Michelangelo may be broadly divided into three periods. His youthful period included the creation of the Bacchus, the South Kensington Cupid (Apollino?), the Adonis, the two *Madonne in Tondo*, the Madonna of Bruges, and ended with the execution of the colossal David of that *Pietà*—which showed Michelangelo at the age of twenty-four to be the greatest sculptor in Europe—and the Cartoon, which proclaimed him the greatest draughtsman. His second period was that epoch of tremendous gestation which witnessed the birth of the most potent, fascinating, and dominating painting and sculpture that the world had seen for eighteen hundred years, work which warped the talent of a generation of artists—the frescoes of the Sistine Chapel and the sculptures of the Sacristy of San Lorenzo. To the army of Titans of the vaulting and the seven colossal shapes of San Lorenzo must be added the Moses and the so-called Captives of the Louvre. His style was determined and had reached its highest point. His final period as painter and sculptor included the Last Judgment, the frescoes of the Pauline Chapel, the *Pietà* of the Duomo of Florence. After the execution of this latter work the sculptor-painter became architect and poet, and laid aside brush and chisel forever.

The achievement of Michelangelo, phenomenal in its strength and depth, may yet be followed in its development. Even his very early work, the Sleeping Cupid, was (if we may believe Vasari) the marvellously precocious work of

people, as well as for that of the strangers who came from the neighbouring places to see it. The multitude of epitaphs, and verses in Latin and Italian composed in honour of Michelagnolo by many able men, are not repeated here, because they would fill a book of themselves, and have be-

one who had quickly learned the lesson of Greek antiquity. When he was but twenty-four years old he had passed onward to a style of his own and, in the execution of the *Pietà*, of a science which looked back upon the art of the *quattrocento* and forward beyond anything that, save from his own chisel, we have had since. His David, called by the sculptor-critic (M. Guillaume) his "*chef-d'œuvre de maitrise*," is yet a youthful work in its fault of choice, the selection of a stripling that should become a colossus. In his Battle of Pisa he relinquished for a time his *terribilità*, which, hinted at in the *Pietà*, was seen in the David, and in this world-famous Cartoon he produced (this much can be told even from the flotsam that has reached us) the very ultimate expression of the Academy drawing, the perfect examples which set all young Italy, crayon and portfolio in hand, to copying in the hall of the Medici Palace.

Upon the upper vaulting of the Sistine Chapel Michelangelo next rose (in spite of what Cellini has told us) far above his figures of the Cartoon, and yet here the departure from nature began, but here too commenced that use of his knowledge of nature for the expression of a spiritual thought so great as to pass (says Symonds) beyond the comprehension of his contemporaries, who still worshipped the naturalistic perfection of the "Cartoon of the Bathing Soldiers." By regular progression this departure from nature continued, as Michelangelo passed down the vaulting of the Sistine Chapel; it is seen in the Persic Sibyl, and in the huge Prophets more than in the Adam and Eve above. It is shown more plainly in the Last Judgment; here knowledge and mannerism are perilously near each other; at last in the Pauline Chapel mannerism has full possession of the field. Between the Sistine frescoes and the Last Judgment, at the time of Michelangelo's best technical and spiritual creativeness, he gave to the world the second of his great *ensembles*, his completest expression in sculpture, the seven statues of the sacristy of San Lorenzo.

In the technical achievement of Michelangelo nothing has made his work more fascinating, more personal, than his application (emphasized so felicitously and authoritatively by M. Eugène Guillaume) of sculptural qualities in his painting, of pictorial qualities in his sculpture. The isolation, relief, self-contained and statue-like character of his Prophets and Sibyls in the Sistine chapel is not more noticeable than the surface treatment of the marble in his Medici Statues; portions polished here, portions left in the rough there, enhancing each other, giving color, making the stone live, and again his use of light and shadow upon these same rough or polished spaces, most of all upon his masses—witness the casqued face of his Penseroso. It is easy, where all is so individual, to point out idiosyncrasies which become indifference or exaggeration in the artist, but by this very indifference or exaggeration Michelangelo produced the effect which he sought for. It is easy to say that

sides been printed by others. But I will not omit to say, that after all the honours above described, the Duke commanded that a place of sepulture should be given to the master in Santa Croce, the Church in which Michelagnolo had desired to be buried, that being the place of burial of

he eschewed naturalism in its ordinary sense (though few naturalistic artists have studied the body more conscientiously), or to see that he disdained the portrait.

In these same figures of the Sistine and San Lorenzo we may note the master's bias as to physical type; the small head, the huge thorax, the tendency to turn the latter to one side, while the legs, reversing the movement, are turned to the other, the pelvis becoming the pivot, and the abdominal and stomach muscles especially testifying to the science of the artist. The hips are narrow, the thighs powerful, and in many of his seated figures of the Sistine, Michelangelo liked to foreshorten the legs from the knees down till they seem almost dissimulated by pose and shadow. We come to the head last of all, and it apparently was what came last in the sculptor's thought. At Oxford there is a sheet covered with drawings in red chalk, of profile or three-quarter heads, by Michelangelo. They are what a modern student would call *chic* heads, that is to say, they are such profiles as the artist would draw without the model (or using the model, if at all, only as a suggestion of the broad relations of light and mass), varying each head a little from the other, making this one a caricature, that one almost antique in its outlines. Anton Springer is perhaps the only critic who has pointed out how strongly Leonardo has influenced Buonarroti in such work. These heads are neither beautiful, delicate, nor subtle, yet in them can be found the characteristics of the type which includes the heads of all Michelangelo's most famous statues—the high-bridged nose with its depressed end, the hollow between the chin and jaw, the flattening of the end of the chin, the horizontal depression running in Greek fashion across the middle of the forehead. Make them finer, subtler, more real in every way, and from three of these heads you might evolve many of Michelangelo's, for though no man differed more from other men, no one adhered more faithfully to the type which he had selected. The heavy slumbering features of the Night proclaim her, nevertheless, own sister to the strong yet alert-faced duke who sits above, even the strange "goat-face" of the Moses is but an exaggeration of the nose and forehead which the sculptor carved almost instinctively. The Adonis, the Aurora, the Madonna of Bruges, the noble Madonna of the Roman *Pietà*, all share of the same facial construction.

Besides type, proportion, modelling, movement, common to Buonarroti as painter and sculptor, we have also to consider the purely pictorial quality of color. His color is known only by the vaulting frescoes of the Sistine, since the Last Judgment has suffered too greatly to afford us any data. In this vast decorative *ensemble* of the chapel vaulting Michelangelo's intense sense of dignity has saved him in spite of inexperience, or of inherited Florentine tendencies, from the slightest triviality of juxtaposition of gayly varied tones

his ancestors. To Leonardo, the nephew of Michelagnolo, his Excellency gave all the marbles for the tomb of his uncle, which the able sculptor, Battista Lorenzi, was commissioned to construct, after the designs of Giorgio Vasari; the same artist having also to execute the bust of Michelagnolo.

or from hardness; the color-scheme is as measured, restrained, perfectly fitting as if Leonardo and Andrea del Sarto had stood at either elbow, and the sculptor in his first great essay with pigments models delicately in a tonality which, though sober, is neither heavy nor muddy.

In composition Michelangelo differed widely from his great rival, Raphael, and much in the same way as he differed from him in his attitude toward those about him. Raphael's relations with all men were harmonious, and in his pictures each figure, too, was harmoniously related to every other. To Michelangelo it was as hard to make his figures accord with each other as it was for him personally to accord with his fellows. As artist he was spiritually and creatively autonomous, his figures are autonomous, and every one is sufficient to itself as is a detached statue. Often Michelangelo's groups are not ill composed, but there is no such relation between the parts of the composition as with Raphael, Titian, or Veronese. Each figure has plenty of harmony within itself between its own proportions and parts, but it is centralized harmony. Take, for instance, the Last Judgment; the groups are so many masses arranged symmetrically, one group balancing another as a mass, but once within these masses each figure seems to be thought of for itself only, as if this tremendously personal artist could not bear the yoke even of his own creations, and must know each artistic thought as independent and subject only to itself. Even in a great architectonic distribution where the artist is successful and deeply impressive, as in the arrangement of the Sistine vaulting, he still refuses to in any way co-ordinate his decorative scheme with that of the men who had gone before him and had painted the lower walls. There are many to whom Michelangelo's art stands first and last for exaggeration; they say that they cannot admire him because of the huge muscles which he gives to his people; this is largely because the exaggeration, which upon the vaulting of the Sistine was full of meaning, became meaningless in the work of an army of followers. The very volume of this work so impresses on-lookers of to-day that they forget that Michelangelo's force was not material alone but spiritual as well. Let his censors set aside the Last Judgment and the Pauline frescoes, the works of his old age, and they will find that in the infinite strength of his Night and Twilight, his Adam and his Moses, there is also infinite delicacy, infinite subtlety.

His influence upon the art of his time was in many senses most unfortunate; but he did not cause the decline of Italian art, he only precipitated it; Italian art decayed because it had bloomed. He possessed the most wonderful *technique* of his time, but what impresses far more than his *technique* is his spirit. Vittoria Colonna said rightly that what was in Michelangelo's work was as little beside what was in his soul. From the time that he finished the David and the cartoon of the Battle of Pisa, began a period of eternal

Three statues are to adorn this tomb, to be executed, one by Battista Lorenzi, one by Giovanni dell' Opera, and the third by Valerio Cioli, Florentine sculptors, who are now occupied with the same and these figures, together with the tomb, will soon be finished and in their places. The work

struggle with his own art, of disdain for that of others. In all that he did was seen a mighty force, struggling, Enceladus-like, to upheave, as if he felt that every creature which came from his brush or chisel needed its giant shoulders to support the burden of man's fate. In its supreme *technique* his achievement became all-powerful, the tyrant of sixteenth-century art; but in his spirit as artist in his ceaseless struggle against human limitations, Michelangelo the man is an incarnate protest. "There are," said Taine, "four men in the world of art and literature exalted above all others, and to to such a degree as to seem to belong to another race, namely, Dante, Shakespeare, Beethoven, and Michelangelo. No profound knowledge, no full possession of all the resources of art, no fertility of imagination, no originality of intellect sufficed to secure them this position, for these they all had; these, moreover, are of secondary importance; that which elevated them to this rank is their soul, the soul of a fallen deity."

Michelangelo's poetry is chiefly remarkable for the revelation of the different "*états-d'âme*" of this usually repressed nature, and for his firm and masterly handling of that most artificial of poetic forms, the Sonnet. He feels no sensuous delight in music or rhythm, he is insensible to the charm of lovely words, poetic images do not attract him, and in his austere, laconic verse we listen in vain for the spontaneous lyric cry. His style is obscure, elliptical, and sometimes so concise as to become ungrammatical. It is rarely smooth, and we know from the numerous changes and *rifacimenti* that he made of his poetic material that it was generally labored. Some of these poems are commonplace and cold, several of them, Symonds suggests, were mere poetic exercises, a form of relaxation common enough in the sixteenth century. But when this great soul is stirred to its depths the empty mould of the sonnet is filled with the fiery molten gold of real passion. Only the loftiest themes inspire Michelangelo's stern Muse; impassioned yet Platonic admiration for physical beauty or rather for an emanation of the eternal beauty transiently incarnated in some gracious human creature, heart-broken yearning for the presence of the beloved dead, the hope and terror that the Christian feels at the thought of death, and the indescribable mingling of awe and love and pity which dilates the heart of the believer before the image of the Crucified. Inspired by such emotions he uses the stylus like a chisel, handles his medium with sculptural severity, and dominates by strenuousness of thought and feeling the most tyrannical of poetic forms. If the Aurora opened her marble lips, if the Prophets of the Sistine broke silence, it is thus that they would speak.

Psychologically the poems possess great interest for the student of Michelangelo. Through them a new "soul side" of the greatest of artistic personalities is made known to the world. In them the ascetic becomes a

is at the cost of Leonardo Buonarroti, with the exception of the marbles; but his Excellency, that nothing may be wanting to the honour of so great a man, proposes to place his bust with an inscription, in the Cathedral, wherein there are the busts and names of many other distinguished Florentines.

lover, the Puritan disarms himself, the Stoic opens his cloak to show us the tender, sorrowing heart under the rough mantle. We realize that he who was so merciless to himself had earned the right to be severe with others; we understand at what a sacrifice of natural pleasures, of innocent joys, his self-command was dearly bought; we discover through these self-revelations that the irritable, self-centred, suspicious, and intolerant artist was a man of highly developed nervous susceptibility, tremulous with feeling, vibrating to every sympathetic touch, and we see this hermit communing in his solitude with kindred souls—Dante, Plato, Petrarch, and Savonarola. At the end of his life, when he had attained the summit of human greatness, when princes stood uncovered before him and he sat at the right hand of Christ's vicar, we find him convinced that there is no reality but God, turning from all earthly things with deepest humility to that infinite love "which on the cross opens its arms to embrace us."

# A DESCRIPTION OF THE WORKS OF TITIAN OF CADORE, PAINTER

[Born 1477; died 1576.]

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, in their edition of 1881 of the Life and Times of Titian, have shown such erudition and tireless patience that the notes in the following life owe more to these authors (and to M. Lafenestre in his admirable book, *Le Titien*) than to all other writers on the subject put together. Even in the Bibliography Crowe and Cavalcaselle have been used as commentators upon the early works upon Titian. Of these early sources there are the contemporary *Dialoghi* of Dolce, Pino, and Biondo which possess anecdotic interest, and the letters of Aretino. Borghini printed his *Riposo* in 1584, and the *Anonimo* (1622) was dedicated to the Countess of Arundel by Tizianello, a collateral descendant of Titian. Ridolfi, in the seventeenth century, was the first to give a finished life of Titian, a life which Crowe and Cavalcaselle consider made but a "superficial" application of abundant sources of information. Dr. Taddeo Jacobi, like Tizianello, a descendant of the Vecelli, collected many documents referring to Cadore, and gave them to Stefano Ticozzi, whose book, published in 1817, is, through ignorance of art shallow and redundant in style, so much so, indeed, that it called forth a satire by Andrea Maier, the *Imitazione Pittorica*, Venice, 1818. The Abate Cadorin followed, treating of Venice, as Jacobi had wished to treat of Cadore, and Francesco Beltrami, *Tiziano Veccellio e il suo monumento*, 1853, condensed the former author's facts. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle cite especially the debt owed to MM. Gachard and Pinchard for their publication of the inventories of Charles V. and Mary of Hungary, and their own personal debt as authors to Don Francisco Diaz, for use of the Simancas letters of Titian, of Charles V., and of his ministers. They cite also the patient investigations of Pungileoni and Morelli, their study of the *Anonimi* of Zen and Tizianello and of Sanuto's diaries. They mention Elze, Heyd, and Thomas upon the Fondaco of the Tedeschi, but consider that the most important contributions to Venetian art-literature in late years have been Lorenzi's *Monumenti* (1877–1881), especially as to the completing of the Ducal Palace, Ronchini's relations of Titian with the Farnesi, Campori's Estensi papers, and Braghirolli's Mantuan papers. Crowe and Cavalcaselle have also used Dr. Jacobi's and Giuseppe Ciani's Cadorine historical material.

In addition to the sixteenth and seventeenth century writers mentioned above, we have, among later works, the following:

S. Ticozzi, *Vite dei pittori Vecelli di Cadore*, Milan, 1817. Sir Abraham Hume, Notices of the Life and Works of Titian, London, 1829 (a condensation of Ridolfi, with lists of pictures, etc., added). J. Northcote, The Life of Titian, London, 1830 (an extraordinarily phrased and confused book, containing, however, many letters. Crowe and Cavalcaselle say the author "tried to supersede Hume by pirating Ticozzi"). J. Cadorin, *Dell' Amore ai Vene-*

*ziani di Tiziano Vecellio*, Venice, 1833. Anna Jameson, The House of Titian (in her Memoirs and Essays), London, 1840. A. Houssaye, *Les Rois de La République, Titien* in *L'Artiste*, 1865, Vol. II., p. 1845, Paris, 1865. W. Bergmann, *Tizian; Bilder aus seinem Leben und seiner Zeit*, Hanover, 1865. A. Houssaye, *Les Coloristes, Titien* in *L'Artiste*, 1868, Vol. III., p. 307, Paris, 1868. J. B. Lorenzi, *Monumenti per servire alla storia del Palazzo Ducale di Venzia*, Venice, 1868. J. Gilbert, Cadore, or Titian's Country, London, 1869 (a delightful volume in which the author joins background to foreground—Titian's country to Titian's art-work. The book contains a great number of drawings of the mountains and valleys about Cadore). Max Jordan, *Tizian*, in the Dohme Series of *Kunst und Künstler des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*. G. Campori, *Tiziano e gli Estensi*, in the *Nuova Antologia*, November, 1874 (important papers showing, through original correspondence, the relations of Titian with the Court of Ferrara). P. E. Selvatico, *Di alcuni abbozzi di Tiziano*, Padua, 1875. J. Gilbert, Titian, from Fraser's Magazine, May, 1877. A. Lang, Titian, from the Fortnightly Review, February, 1877. J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle, The Life and Times of Titian, London, 1877 and 1881. This is probably the most important existing work upon the artist; the sources especially drawn upon by the authors have been mentioned at the beginning of this Bibliography. For their book itself it may be said that its erudition is amazing, the patience of the authors tireless, their description of the works of art—they having personally examined nearly a thousand pictures executed by, or attributed to, Titian—is invaluable as a record of the condition of the canvases and panels, their color, composition, etc. The arrangement of their work, though chronological, is confusing, and might be bettered by editing. When they speak as art-critics the authors are sometimes excellent, but when they try to express themselves technically, especially as to handling and color, their sentences are sometimes meaningless. In spite of this, their contribution, through their Histories of Painting in Italy, their Raphael and their Titian, can hardly be overestimated, and the names of the late Sir Joseph Archer Crowe (who died in September of this year, 1896), and that of his colleague, G. B. Cavalcaselle, occupy an important place in the history of the literature of art. A. de Montaiglon, *La Mise au Tombeau du Titien*, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XV., Second Series, p. 69, Paris, 1877. M. Thausing, *Tizian und die Herzogin Eleonora von Urbino*, *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, XIII., pp. 257, 305, Leipsic, 1878. J. B. Atkinson, *Tizian, sein Leben und seine zeit* in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, XIII., pp. 181, 217, Leipsic, 1878. R. F. Heath, Titian, London, 1879 (in the series of "The Great Artists"). Braghirolli, *Tiziano alla corte dei Gonzaghi di Mantova*, Mantua, 1881 (an important contribution to our knowledge of Titian's correspondence). G. Lafenestre, *La Vie et l'Œuvre de Titien*, Paris, 1888. (This fine monograph is, together with the volumes of Crowe and Cavalcaselle, the most complete contribution to the subject of Titian's life and works. M. Lafenestre is one of the most discriminating and enlightening of living art-critics, and through its criticism his work becomes as important as that of Crowe and Cavalcaselle is by its erudition. The book, a thick folio, is embellished by fine autotype reproductions of Titian's drawings, and is disfigured by very poor wood-cuts). A. Luzio, *Pietro Aretino nei primi suoi anni a Venezia a la corte dei Gonzaga*, Turin, 1888. P. de Madrazo, *Catálogo de los cuadros del Museo del Prado de Madrid*, Madrid, 1889. (Crowe and Cavalcaselle think this to be still

the most important source of information regarding Titian to be found in Spain, excepting of course the Simancas letters.) C. Barfold, *Titian Vecellio, Hans Samtid, Liv og Konst*, Copenhagen, 1889; *Tre Lettere di Tiziano al Cardinale Ercole Gonzaga*, in *L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, III., p. 207, 1890. Bernardo Morsolin, *Opere di Tiziano Vecellio ignorate o perdute*, article in *Arte e Storia*, 1890, n. 19. G. B. Cavalcaselle, *Spigolature Tizianesche*, article in *L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, IV., p. 1, 1891. Zimmermann, *Die Landschaft in der Venezianischen Malerei bis zum Tode Tizians*, Leipsic, 1893. Bernhard Berenson, The Venetian Painters of the Renaissance, New York, 1894 (including a catalogue of the works of Titian). Mr. Ruskin's books contain charming passages upon Titian's landscape, as every reader of the great author knows. Justi, *Jahrbuch der Königlichen Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 1894. P. Gauthiez, *L'Italie du XVI. siècle, L'Arétin*, Paris, 1896.

TITIAN[1] was born in the year 1480,[2] at Cadore,[3] a small place distant about five miles from the foot of the Alps;[4] he belonged to the family of the Vecelli,[5] which is among the most noble of those parts. Giving early proof of much intelligence, he was sent at the age of

[1] Tiziano di Gregorio di Conte de' Vecelli, commonly called Titian by English-speaking people, was born in 1477, in a house on the Piazzetta dell' Arsenale at Pieve di Cadore in the Alps of Friuli, seventy miles from Venice. Titian, like Michelangelo, came of a very ancient race of the petty nobility; his grandfather, Conte de' Vecelli, was the most trusted member of the council of Cadore; his father, Gregorio di Conte, was distinguished both as magistrate and soldier; his mother was named Lucia, his brother and sisters, Francesco, Caterina, and Orsa.

[2] In 1477 rather.

[3] The enthusiasm and travels of Mr. Gilbert (Cadore, or Titian's Country) have enabled him to show the measure in which Titian has celebrated his native province, to connect famous canvases with individual mountain ranges, and to identify the Alpine panorama, which impressed the painter with so strong a love for the pictorial rendering of natural phenomena, that M. Lafenestre calls him the creator of the modern landscape. The cottage of the Titian family still exists in the Contrade Lovarnia at Cadore. It is now marked by a commemorative tablet. In 1880 a bronze statue of Titian, by Del Zotto, was erected in the Piazza. The *casa* Solero contains some relics of Titian, including his patent of nobility. The Palazzo Communale has a colossal portrait in fresco of the great painter and is also adorned with a marble relief.

[4] Mr. W. M. Rossetti has remarked that the earliest Italian picture which was called "landscape" was one which was sent to Philip II., in 1552. Many of Titian's works show the influence of his mountain birthplace, the peculiar type of the Dolomite mountains predominating in his backgrounds. A number of admirable pen-drawings of landscape exist in various museums.

[5] From Cadorine MSS. by Dr. Taddeo Jacobi, quoted by Messrs. Crowe and

ten to an uncle in Venice, an honourable citizen, who seeing the boy to be much inclined to Painting, placed him with the excellent painter Gian Bellino, then very famous, as we have said.[6] Under his care the youth soon proved himself to be endowed by nature with all the gifts of judgment and genius required for the art of painting. Now Gian Bellino, and the other masters of that country, not having the habit of studying antique, were accustomed to copy only what they saw before them, and that in a dry, hard, laboured manner,[7] which Titian also acquired; but about the year 1507, Giorgione da Castel Franco, not being satisfied with that mode of proceeding, began to give

Cavalcaselle, we find that the name of Titian was brought into the family by marriage, the patronage of a chapel in the Pieve which was dedicated to San Tiziano of Oderzo forming a portion of the dowry of Bartolommea, who married one Guecello (or Vecellio), who died in 1451.

[6] For a discussion on the masters of Titian see Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle's Titian, his Life and Times, and G. Morelli's Italian Masters in German Galleries. Dolce says, in his *Dialogo della Pittura*, that Titian was sent to Venice when only nine years old and placed with Sebastian Zuccato, father of Francesco and Valerio Zuccato, the celebrated mosaic-workers. After a short time he entered the studio of Gentile Bellini, whence he soon passed on to that of Giovanni Bellini. Titian afterward also worked under Giorgione, and on the death of that master completed certain paintings which the latter had left unfinished. (See the *Anonymus* of J. Morelli.) From 1504 to 1512 the influence of Giorgione is particularly marked in all Titian's work. From the time when Titian began his studies until he painted the *façade* of the Fondaco de' Tedeschi, Venetian records are silent regarding him. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, considering Palma Vecchio to have been older than Titian, believe the former to have had a strong influence upon the work of Vecellio. G. Morelli, on the contrary, declares that Palma was rather the follower than the teacher of Titian; for further matter regarding this important difference of opinion between writers see the Life of Palma Vecchio, note 1. Antonio Rosso has also been mentioned among those who may have taught Titian. G. Morelli cannot believe that Titian would have acted as he did in trying to obtain the reversion of Bellini's *sanseria* if he had really been the latter's pupil.

[7] For a Florentine, and a contemporary of Bronzino at that, to call Giambellino's manner hard and dry, is delightful. The fact, however, that Venetian art lacked the evolution that came to Florence with the inheritance from antiquity, as well as from Giotto and Masaccio, was noticed keenly enough by Vasari, who attributed this lack entirely to the Venetians neither possessing nor studying antique statues.

to his works an unwonted softness and relief, painting them in a very beautiful manner; yet he by no means neglected to draw from the life, or to copy nature with his colours as closely as he could, and in doing the latter he shaded with colder or warmer tints as the living object might demand, but without first making a drawing, since he held that, to paint with the colours only, without any drawing on paper, was the best mode of proceeding and most perfectly in accord with the true principles of design.

But herein he failed to perceive that he who would give order to his compositions, and arrange his conceptions intelligibly, must first group them in different ways on the paper, to ascertain how they may all go together; for the fancy cannot fully realize her own intentions unless these be to a certain extent submitted to the corporal eye, which then aids her to form a correct judgment. The nude form also demands much study before it can be well understood, nor can this ever be done without drawing the same on paper; to be compelled always to have nude or draped figures before the eyes while painting, is no small restraint, but when the hand has been well practised on paper, a certain facility both in designing and painting is gradually obtained, practice in art supervenes, the manner and the judgment are alike perfected, and that laboured mode of execution mentioned above, is no more perceived. Another advantage resulting from drawing on paper is the store of valuable ideas which gradually fill the mind, enabling the artist to represent natural objects from his own thoughts, without being compelled to hold them constantly before him, nor does he who can draw, need to labour to hide his want of design beneath the attractions of colouring, as many of the Venetian painters, Giorgione, Il Palma, Il Pordenone and others, who never saw the treasures of art in Rome, or works of the highest perfection in any other place, have been compelled to do.

Having seen the manner of Giorgione, Titian early resolved to abandon that of Gian Bellino, although well

grounded therein. He now therefore devoted himself to this purpose, and in a short time so closely imitated Giorgione that his pictures were sometimes taken for those of that master, as will be related below. Increasing in age, judgment, and facility of hand, our young artist executed numerous works in fresco which cannot here be named individually, having been dispersed in various places; let it suffice to say, that they were such as to cause experienced men to anticipate the excellence to which he afterwards attained. At the time when Titian began to adopt the manner of Giorgione, being then not more than eighteen, he took the portrait of a gentleman of the Barbarigo [8] family who was his friend, and this was considered very beautiful, the colouring being true and natural, and the hair so distinctly painted that each one could be counted, as might also the stitches * in a satin doublet, painted in the same work; at a word, it was so well and carefully done, that it would have been taken for a picture by Giorgione, if Titian had not written his name on the dark ground.

Giorgione meanwhile had executed the façade of the German Exchange,[9] when, by the intervention of Barbarigo, Titian was appointed to paint certain stories in the same building, and over the Merceria.[10] After which he executed

* Read points (*punte*) for stitches.

[8] There is a portrait of Agostino Barbarigo at St. Petersburg; a portrait of Doge Marco Barbarigo is in the Giustiniani-Barbarigo collection of Padua. See M. Lafenestre's *Titien*, p. 34.

[9] The Exchange was built to replace one destroyed by fire; by the contract no marble or carved work could be used in the new building, so that painted decoration was, perforce, the only one employed. A figure of Judith, or Justice, over the portal of the southern *façade* was Titian's chief contribution to the frescoes of the Fondaco. There is a print of it by Piccino, 1658. When Crowe and Cavalcaselle were writing, the outlines and colors of several figures, or fragments, were still dimly visible.

[10] The work of Titian on the Fondaco dé' Tedeschi was executed about 1507–8. The salt winds have almost entirely destroyed the frescoes. Faint traces of one figure on the Grand Canal still remain, and are doubtfully attributed to Titian. A few fragments existed on the side canal until 1884, when they were destroyed. See also the life of Giorgione, Vol. III., p. 6, of the present work. For bibliography see Simonsfeld, *Der Fondaco dei*

a picture with figures the size of life, which is now in the Hall of Messer Andrea Loredano, who dwells near San Marcuola; this work represents Our Lady in her flight into Egypt,[11] she is in the midst of a great wood, and the landscape of this picture is well done; Titian having practised that branch of art, and keeping certain Germans who were excellent masters therein for several months together in his own house: within the wood he depicted various animals, all painted from the life, and so natural as to seem almost alive. In the house of Messer Giovanni D'Anna, a Flemish gentleman and merchant, who was his gossip, he painted a portrait which appears to breathe, with an *Ecce Homo*, comprising numerous figures which, by Titian himself, as well as others, is considered to be a very good work.[12] The same artist executed a picture of Our Lady, with other figures the

*Tedeschi in Venedig*, Stuttgart, 1887, and D. G. Thomas, *Capitolare dei Vice-Domini del Fondaco dei Tedeschi in Venezia*, Berlin, 1874. The whole commission for painting the two *façades* of the Fondaco de' Tedeschi was probably given to Giorgione, and was shared by the latter with Titian, perhaps by Barbarigo's wishes, indeed, very probably, by Giorgione's own. The *Anonimo* of the life of Titian dedicated by Tizianello to the Countess of Arundel, says that, far from being jealous or displeased, Giorgione rejoiced in Titian's success at the Fondaco. The subordinate part taken by the latter is the more probable that his name does not appear on the records in connection with the work. Crowe and Cavalcaselle judge from such fragments and *repliche* as they have seen, that Giorgione in his frescoes of the Fondaco still allowed classic art to somewhat influence him, while Titian broke with it, and was frankly modern. Zanetti, citing Sebastian Ricci and old traditions, gives high praise to both artists.

[11] *Repliche* of this subject (the Flight into Egypt), reputed as originals, exist in the galleries of the Louvre; at Modena; Stockholm; Berlin; Royal Institute, Liverpool, and in the Hereford Gallery, London.

[12] There is an *Ecce Homo* now in the Imperial Art Museum, Vienna. Titian repeated this subject several times. The Vienna picture is inscribed TITIANUS EQUES CAES, F. 1543. In it are life-size portraits of Sultan Suleiman, and Aretino (the latter as Pontius Pilate). See Milanesi, VII., p. 429, note 4. It must be admitted that while such pictures as Titian's Pesaro Madonna, and the Entombment of the Louvre, are compositionally grander than anything by Veronese, such pictures, on the contrary, as the *Ecce Homo* have a confusion and disjointedness of composition rarely found in the work of Paolo; in such cases Titian seems to have been content to let color and chiaro-scuro make up for, and in part counteract, careless composition.

size of life, men and children, being all taken from nature, and portraits of persons belonging to the D'Anna family.[13]

In the year 1567,[14] when the Emperor Maximilian was making war on the Venetians, Titian, as he relates himself, painted the Angel Raphael, with Tobit and a Dog, in the Church of San Marziliano.[15] There is a distinct landscape in this picture, wherein San Giovanni Battista is seen at prayer in a wood; he is looking up to Heaven and his face is illumed by a light descending thence:[16] some believe this picture to have been done before that on the Exchange of the Germans, mentioned above, was commenced. Now it chanced that certain gentlemen, not knowing that Giorgione no longer worked at this façade, and that Titian was doing it (nay, had already given that part over the Merceria to public view) met the former, and began as friends to rejoice with him, declaring that he was acquitting himself better on the side of the Merceria than he had done on that of the Grand Canal, which remark caused Giorgione so much vexation, that he would scarcely permit himself to be seen until the whole work was completed, and Titian had become generally known as the painter; nor did he thenceforward hold any intercourse with the latter and they were no longer friends.

In the year 1508, Titian published a wood engraving of the Triumph of Faith;[17] it comprised a vast number of

[13] Giovanni Danna, or d'Annas, had his portrait painted by Titian, but it is lost, as is also the Virgin and Child, and the other pictures mentioned by Vasari.

[14] This is evidently a misprint for 1507.

[15] Not San Marziliano but San Marziale. The picture, which is still in the church, is one of Titian's most attractive canvasès, with great bursts of sunlight and shadow effect, and is most interesting in its utter difference from the Florentine treatment of the same subject. M. Lafenestre, *Le Titien*, p. 190, refuses to believe this picture a youthful work, and claims that it belongs to the epoch of the Battle of Cadore, and the Presentation of the Virgin at the Temple.

[16] The Florentine Vasari probably confused this picture with another representing the same subject, which Ridolfi described as in the Church of St. Catherine. (Lafenestre, *Le Titien.*)

[17] The Triumph of Faith is dated (in the prints) 1505, but was not published

figures: our first Parents, the Patriarchs, the Prophets, the Sybils, the Innocents, the Martyrs, the Apostles, and Our Saviour Christ borne in triumph by the four Evangelists and the four Doctors, followed by the holy Confessors: here Titian displayed much boldness, a fine manner, and improving facility. I remember that Fra Bastiano del Piombo, speaking on this subject, told me that if Titian had then gone to Rome, and seen the work of Michelagnolo, with those of Raphael and the ancients, he was convinced, the admirable facility of his colouring considered, that he would have produced works of the most astonishing perfection, seeing that, as he well deserved to be called the most perfect imitator of Nature of our times, as regards colouring, he might thus have rendered himself equal to the Urbinese or Buonarroto, as regarded the great foundation of all, design.[18] At a later period Titian repaired to Vicenza, where he painted the Judgment of Solomon, on the

till 1508. M. Lafenestre, *Le Titien*, p. 59, says that, according to Ridolfi (as well as Vasari), Titian designed this Triumph as a processional frieze for a room in Padua, and that the engravings by Andreani soon made it famous in France and Germany. If the subjects were ever executed in color, whether by Titian or Campagnola, they have perished. Andreani made engravings of the subjects for the Triumph; see reproduction of two fragments, Lafenestre, *op. cit.*, pp. 51 (centre group) and 55 (martyrs and saints). Several large landscapes etched on copper are attributed to Titian, as well as some wood-cuts, including a Marriage of St. Catherine inscribed TITIANUS VECELLINUS INVENTOR DELINEAVIT.

[18] One of the loveliest pictures to be found in the range of Venetian art is the so-called Sacred and Profane Love in the Borghese collection at Rome. Ridolfi in his *Maraviglie* (1648) mentions the work simply as Two Maidens at a Fountain. It is evidently a relatively early work, but the date of its execution is unknown. Crowe and Cavalcaselle suggest 1500, Morelli (Italian Painters, I., p. 239) from 1510 to 1512. Dr. Bode and Morelli claim also as an early Titian the Salome in the Doria Gallery, catalogued there as by Pordenone, and Morelli adds to this the Baptism of Christ (in the Capitol at Rome), which Crowe and Cavalcaselle accredit to Bordone. Morelli includes among early Titians the Three Ages of the Bridgewater Gallery, a Holy Family—there attributed to Palma—and an early Madonna with Saints, in the Dresden Gallery, and attributed by Crowe and Cavalcaselle to Schiavone. Again, he gives to Titian as an early work (1512–1514) the Madonna with Saints Ulfus and Bridget (Madrid, and there attributed to Giorgione).

Loggetta wherein the Courts of Justice are held ;[19] a very beautiful work. Returning to Venice, he then depicted * the façade of the Grimani ;[20] at Padua he painted certain frescoes in the Church of Sant' Antonio, the subjects taken from the life of that Saint ;[21] and in the Church of Santo Spirito he executed a small picture of San Marco,[22] seated

* *Dipinse*, painted is better than depicted in this case. Vasari means that he painted subjects or ornaments on the *façade*.

[19] When Palladio rebuilt the Loggia in 1571 the frescoes of Titian were destroyed. It is only natural that Giorgione's Judgment of Solomon, in the Uffizi, should come to mind. M. Lafenestre, *op. cit.*, p. 60, has remarked upon the impossibility, through want of data, of connecting Giorgione's picture with that mentioned here.

[20] The frescoes on the *façade* (?) of the Grimani palace, which Titian executed in 1512, have perished. Milanesi, VII., p. 431, says that the painting was probably in the interior of the portico of Palazzo Grimani a Sant' Ermagora.

[21] There are three early frescoes by Titian in the Scuola of Sant' Antonio at Padua (not in the church), and a fresco in the Scuola del Carmine (Joachim and Anna) is attributed to him. Domenico Campagnola worked with Titian, but it is not known how great the share of Domenico was. The work was executed in 1511. These frescoes, broadly, almost splashily, painted, and the very antithesis as to method of anything Tuscan or Milanese, are exceedingly strong (if somewhat hot) in color. The subjects are St. Anthony granting speech to an infant that it may prove the innocence of its mother, St. Anthony restoring a dead youth, and a wife murdered by a jealous husband. In the first two works the treatment is exceedingly Giorgionesque, the costumes as to period, etc., resemble those painted by Francia and his companions in the St. Cecilia Chapel of Bologna, but it is interesting to note here the vastly greater breadth ; indeed these frescoes show a curious mingling of power and weakness, of freedom and limitation, and a slightness of treatment which may even be called "sloppy." The figures in the frescoes are of life-size and have been greatly damaged by overpainting in oil. Francesco Zanoni in 1748 cleaned off the oil and "restored" the work. See Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *op. cit.*, I., p. 138, note †. These authors make the frescoes the text of a discussion of Venetian fresco, and doubt whether Titian's frescoes of the Fondaco could have been as fine as has been asserted, since they show that his work in the Scuola del Santo and the Carmine evince but a half-hearted enthusiasm for the medium employed.

[22] The St. Mark, enthroned between four saints, is in the sacristy of S. Maria della Salute in Venice. It was painted in 1513 for the Church of Santo Spirito in Isola. It was removed to the Salute in 1656 and has been recently restored. It is a very celebrated picture, deep and powerful in color, but in which the central figure is awkward and lacks the dignity either of expression or movement which Titian usually gives to his figures ; the head here looks as if stuck on a pole, the body seems out of plumb, and is misshapen and com-

in the midst of other saints, whose faces are portraits painted in oil with the utmost care; this picture has been taken for a work of Giorgione.[23]

Now the death of Giovan Bellino had caused a Story in the Hall of the Great Council to remain unfinished, it was that which represents Federigo Barbarossa kneeling before Pope Alessandro III., who plants his foot on the Emperor's neck.[24] This was now finished by Titian, who altered many parts of it, introducing portraits of his friends and others. For this he received from the Senate an office in the Exchange of the Germans called the Senseria,[25] which brought him in three hundred crowns yearly, and which those Signori usually give to the most eminent painter of their city,[26] on condition that from time to time he shall take the portrait of their Doge or Prince when such shall be created, at the price of eight crowns, which the Doge himself pays, the portrait being then preserved in the Palace of San Marco, as a memorial of that Doge.

pressed. Had Titian painted only the figure of this San Marco he would hardly have obtained a mention in art-history.

[23] The famous picture of the Concert, in the Pitti Gallery of Florence, often attributed to Giorgione, is by certain critics, including Mr. Berenson (Venetian Painters of the Renaissance), called an early work of Titian.

[24] Giorgione, not Giambellino, left this picture unfinished. It represents Frederick kissing the foot of the Pope. Titian finished it in 1516, and it was burned in the great fire of 1577. There is in M. Lafenestre's *Titien*, p. 69, a catalogue of the extensive series of mural paintings which perished in the Hall of the Grand Council.

[25] The important German Exchange, though the meeting-place of the *Tedeschi*, namely the Germans, Bohemians, Poles, Hungarians, and Savoyards, was really ruled by the Venetians, who appointed all the officers; no merchant could buy unless accompanied by a broker appointed by the state, and he could purchase only from born Venetians. This is of interest because the office of broker was frequently given by the state to painters. Bellini and Titian were both of them appointees, though with them the office was unquestionably a sinecure and was probably farmed out. See Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *op. cit.*, I., pp. 80–84.

[26] It is generally stated that Titian petitioned that the office should revert to him on the death of Giovanni Bellini, the actual incumbent (he received it in 1516). M. Lafenestre, however, *op. cit.*, p. 66, makes the interesting point that Titian did not ask for Bellini's office, but only *an* office which should equal it in emoluments.

In the year 1514, the Duke Alfonso of Ferrara[27] had a small apartment decorated in certain of its compartments by the Ferrarese painter Dosso; the Stories were of Eneas, Mars, and Venus; and in a Grotto was Vulcan with two Cyclops working at the forge. The Duke then wished to have some pictures by Gian Bellino, who painted on one of the walls a Vat of red wine surrounded by Bacchantes, Satyrs, and other figures male and female, all inebriated, with Silenus entirely nude mounted on his ass, a very beautiful figure; around this group are crowds of figures with grapes and other fruits in their hands, and this work is so carefully coloured that it may be called one of the finest ever executed by Gian Bellino, although there is a certain harshness and stiffness in the draperies, he having imitated a picture by the Fleming, Albert Dürer, which had just then been brought to Venice.[28] It was placed in the Church

[27] Titian's relations with Alfonso of Ferrara, through the latter's confidential man, Tebaldo, are curious. The painter repeatedly promised to finish the pictures belonging to the Bacchanal series, and repeatedly failed to fulfil his promises. After threats and unpleasantness, Tebaldo appears as diplomat, and writes to Titian that it is highly probable that the Duke will go soon to Rome to congratulate the new Pope on his election, and that in such case he would, if Titian happened to be at his court, take him in his train to the much-desired haven of all the arts, the Eternal City. All this Tebaldo ventured upon without authority, but the Duke, on hearing it, wrote to him, December 26, 1521, "you could not have been a truer prophet." Titian did not rise to the bait, but went quietly home to spend Christmas in Friuli. On his return he pleaded illness. Tebaldo suggested that he had had too much Christmas and upbraided the painter in the Duke's name. Titian now declared that "I will accept no order before I finish the Bacchus, not even from our Lord God himself." Nevertheless he was not ready when the day came on which he had promised to finish the picture, and was quite unruffled by threats, saying that it is all of no use, that he works every afternoon on the Bacchus and *must* give his forenoons to the Ducal Palace. It may be noted here that in 1518 (July 3d) Titian had been called before the Salt Office and told that unless he began within a week his neglected work in the Palace, and continued satisfactorily with the same, the Signoria would have the picture finished by another artist, at Titian's expense. The Bacchus was at last completed in January, 1523. There is an article on Titian and Alfonso of Este, by C. Justi, in the Prussian Annuary (*Jahrbuch*, etc.), Vol. XV., 1894, p. 160.

[28] Bellini's picture of a Bacchanal (now at Alnwick) was taken by the master to Ferrara and finished there in presence of the Duke, "*instante domino nostro.*" Vasari's statement that Titian "completed" it must be read, ac-

of San Bartolommeo, an extraordinary work painted in oil, and comprising a crowd of figures. Within the Vat above-mentioned Gian Bellino wrote the following words :—

*Joannes Bellinus Venetus, p.* 1514.

This picture the great age of the master had prevented him from completing ; and Titian, as being more eminent than any other artist, was sent for to finish it ; wherefore, desirous of progress and anxious to make himself known, he depicted two Stories which were still wanting to that apartment : the first is a River of red wine, beside which are singers and players on instruments half inebriated, females as well as men. There is one nude figure of a sleeping Woman which is very beautiful, and appears living as indeed do the other figures. To this work Titian affixed his name. In the second picture, which is near the above, and is seen on first entering, there are numerous figures of Loves and beautiful Children in various attitudes : the most beautiful among these is one who is fishing in a river, and whose figure is reflected in the water. This greatly pleased the Duke, as did the first picture. These children surround an Altar, on which is a statue of Venus with a shell in her hand ; she is attended by Grace and Beauty, exquisite figures, which are finished with indescribable care.[29] On the door of a press Titian painted the figure of Christ, from

cording to Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *op. cit.*, I., p. 175, repaired it. The authors believe that the picture through some mischance must have been injured, and have been restored by Titian, since the latter painter left his own stamp upon the picture in the execution of the landscape background.

[29] In the Gallery of Madrid there is a Bacchanal by Titian, and the famous Worship of Venus, a mass of frolicking Cupids, and in the National Gallery of London is a Bacchus and Ariadne. When the Madrid pictures left Italy it is said that Domenichino shed tears at the loss of such treasures. His own *Putti* (says Mengs), as well as those of Poussin, were inspired by those of Titian in the Worship of Venus. Even more so were the pictures of Albano filled with populations of Cupids. There is hardly anything in art more delightful and mirth-provoking than the little satyr who drags a calf's head in the London picture of Bacchus and Ariadne. Milanesi says that the latter was painted in 1522 for Duke Alfonso, passed later to the Barbefini, then to the Aldobrandini, and lastly to England.

the middle upwards, a most beautiful and admirable work; a wicked Hebrew * is showing to Jesus the coin of Cæsar: other pictures, executed in the same place, are declared by our artists to be among the best ever produced by Titian, and are indeed singularly fine.[30] He was consequently rewarded very largely by the Duke, whose portrait he also took, representing him as leaning on a large piece of artillery.[31] He portrayed the Signora Laura likewise, who was afterwards wife of the Duke; and this too is an admirable work:[32] nor is it to be denied that the labours, of those who

* Read Hebrew peasant (*villano ebreo*).

[30] This famous picture, now in the Dresden Gallery, is called the Tribute Money, or the *Christo della Moneta;* Scanelli, in his work, *Il Microcosmo della Pittura*, gives a curious anecdote regarding it. Certain German travellers being allowed to visit Titian's studio, were asked their impression of the works they saw. The Germans remarked that they only knew of one master capable of giving a minute finish, the artist being Dürer. Titian reasoned with them, and said that he would paint a picture which should have minute finish without sacrifice of breadth; the Tribute Money is the result of this assertion.

[31] The portrait of Alfonso d' Este, Duke of Ferrara, was executed in 1518. It is now in the Museum of Madrid; "TICIANU" is inscribed upon the scarf about the waist of the duke. There are in the Uffizi two well-known Titian portraits (1537) of the Duke and Duchess of Urbino (Francesco Maria della Rovere and Eleanora Gonzaga).

[32] Laura Dianti, daughter of a poor artisan, became the mistress, and later it is probable that she became the wife, of Duke Alfonso; she was then called Donna Laura Eustochio d' Este. It is thought that she is represented in the picture in the Louvre of a woman with a mirror, and of a man resembling the Duke of Ferrara (Alfonso I.). The objection made by Crowe and Cavalcaselle that the girl in the mirror seems too simple in attire to be the mistress of a prince seems futile, since it is the artist's province to make an artistic use of simplicity when he chooses. The famous Flora of the Uffizi strongly resembles the Laura of the Louvre, and Cicognara (1816) sustains that Titian frequently painted the lady both as nude and draped. It must be admitted that in several of his most famous portraits of women Titian has not differentiated his type very subtly, so that many of them look like the Laura. There is no proof of Titian's ever having painted Lucrezia Borgia, wife of Alfonso of Ferrara. Ridolfi states that he did paint her, and an engraving afterward made by Stadeler tallies with a description of a canvas attributed to Titian once existing in the collection of Christine of Sweden; nothing, however, is certain in the matter. For all his roughness and irascibility Alfonso of Ferrara was a genuine art lover, or at any rate was genuinely covetous of the possession of fine works of art. He tried to buy Leonardo's drawings of Melzi (Ercole d' Este had already been unsuccessful in his attempts to obtain the

toil for art have great energy when stimulated by the liberality of Princes.

About this time Titian formed a friendship with the divine Messer Ludovico Ariosto, and was by him acknowledged as an admirable painter, being celebrated as such in his Orlando Furioso.

> . . . . . *E. Tizian che onora*
> *Non men Cador, che quei Venezia e Urbino.*[33]

Having then returned to Venice, Titian painted a picture in oil, for the brother-in-law * of Giovanni da Castel-Bolognese; a nude figure of a Shepherd, to whom a Peasant Girl

colossal horse of Da Vinci); he employed Bellini, and through his envoys waged a long battle with Titian in Venice, and Raphael in Rome, for possession of some of their pictures—the overworked painters constantly promising—the Duke coaxing and threatening alternately. At one time Alfonso requested Titian to paint the portrait of a gazelle from a sketch which Bellini had made of the animal, the latter being considered rare and curious. Titian agreed to the Duke's request, so that the story makes a Venetian pendant to that of Raphael's painting the Elephant (see the life of Raphael).

* *Suocero* means father-in-law, not brother-in-law.

[33] This praise of Titian does not occur in the first edition (1516) of the Orlando, but in the second edition of 1532 (the last published in the lifetime of Ariosto), and it must not be forgotten that although in those earlier days we find Titian the *protégé* of great men, he had not yet become the flattered favorite of the man who was master of Italy as well as of the Empire, and whose praise made the fame and fortune of any to whom it was given. A portrait in the National Gallery is claimed as that of Ariosto by Titian, and the latter made the drawing for the wood-cut portrait in the Orlando. An important portrait in the Darnley collection at Cobham Hall is called that of Ariosto, and is, think Crowe and Cavalcaselle, the one which Ridolfi chronicles as by Titian, and as in the possession of Lopez, Privy Councillor to the King of Spain. There is an engraving by Sandrart of the Lopez Ariosto which entirely resembles the Cobham picture. In Italy the recognized type of Ariosto is that found in the Cobham Hall picture, but the National Gallery Ariosto and the wood-cut of the Orlando have (say Crowe and Cavalcaselle) more likeness to each other than to the Darnley picture or to the accredited portraits in Italy. The National Gallery portrait answers the description by Ridolfi of an Ariosto in the Renier collection. Morelli, Italian Painters, II., p. 18, note 1, thinks the National Gallery Ariosto is by Palma. For various ancient so-called portraits of Ariosto see Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *op. cit.*, I., p. 201.

offers a Flute: around the group is a beautiful Landscape;[34] that work is now at Faenza, in the house of the above-named Giovanni. For the High Altar in the Church of the Minorite Friars, called the Ca Grande, this artist painted a picture of our Lady ascending into Heaven, with the Twelve Apostles beneath. But of that work, which was painted on cloth, and perhaps not carefully kept, little can now be seen.[35] In the same Church, and in the Chapel of the Pes-

[34] There is a nymph with a shepherd holding a flute, in the Vienna Gallery.

[35] The world-famous Assumption, now in the Academy of Venice, was ordered in 1516 by Father Germano, of the Franciscan convent, for the high altar of Santa Maria Gloriosa de' Frari. It was first shown to the public on St. Bernardino's Day, March 20, 1518. Marino Sanuto was in the crowd of visitors and chronicled the picture in his note-book. The picture (see Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *op. cit.*, I., p. 221, note*) was soon so darkened by candle-smoke and incense that Vasari, as he says in the text, could hardly see it. It has consequently been cleaned several times somewhat to its detriment. The upper part is but slightly altered, the lower portion much repainted, St. Peter's orange robe being especially notable as a "restoration." Dolce's statement that the picture was a youthful work is disproved by Sanuto and the work is painted on panel, not on cloth as stated by Vasari. Splendor of color, decorative sweep in composition, concentration of light, simplicity of mass, all go to strengthen the spiritual quality of the picture; but this same spiritual quality of exaltation and rapture sublimates all other elements and makes the Assumption one of the greatest pictures in the world, and the central achievement of Titian. Seen in the Academy of Venice, the *Assunta* does not, it must be frankly admitted, equal some other of the master's works in color. But Titian did not paint the picture to be seen in the Academy, he painted it for the high altar of the Frari; for semi-darkness. Seen where it is now, the cadmium and blue appear violent, the blue mantle of the Madonna has a hard edge, but we have every reason to believe that seen in the church the outlines were drowned until just the right degree of distinctness subsisted, and that the yellow pigment became a luminous aureole. Restorers, too, have undoubtedly lessened the delicacy of the work by their cleaning, and coarsened it by repainting; nevertheless, the picture is still spendidly impressive.

The grand giantess sweeps upward with a movement as perfectly decorative, graceful, and powerful at once, as any in the range of Italian art; she is beautiful as well, and here, as in each masterpiece of Titian, no one element exists to the sacrifice of the others; and we have unity, roundness, the presence of *all* the qualities at once, a complete and more than satisfying whole. Taine says: "Venetian art centres in this work, and perhaps reaches its climax." M. Lafenestre declares, *op. cit.*, p. 82, that "never as yet had the genius of Venice, healthy, abounding, free, joyous, found such free vent."

Titian. The Pesaro Madonna.

ari family, Titian painted a Madonna with the Divine Child in her arms; San Piero and San Giorgio are beside her, and the owners of the Chapel are kneeling around the group. These persons are all portraits from the life;[36] among them are the Bishop of Baffo and his brother, who had just then returned from the victory which the Bishop had obtained over the Turks.[37] At the little Church of San Niccolò in the same Convent, Titian also painted a picture, comprising figures of San Niccolò, San Francesco, Santa Caterina, and San Sebastiano; the latter is nude, and has been exactly copied from the life without the slightest admixture of art, no efforts for the sake of beauty have been sought in any part, trunk or limbs: all is as Nature left it, so that it might seem to be a sort of cast from the life;* it is nevertheless considered very fine, and the figure of Our Lady with the Infant in her arms, whom all the other figures are looking at, is also accounted most beautiful.[38] This picture

* Intercalate after life, "it is so real and fleshly" (*così è carnoso e proprio*).

[36] As early as 1519 Jacopo Pesaro, titular Bishop of Paphos, ordered this work, a votive picture commemorating the victory of Santa Maura. It was finished in May, 1526, and still stands upon an altar in the church of the Frari. Perhaps there is not such another sober-stately picture in the world. Far graver than the painted pageants of Veronese, it is nevertheless grandly scenic with its banners and its columns. The simplicity and mass of the latter, the broad planes of blue sky, give a peculiar dignity, and in any hands but those of a consummate master would have thrown the picture out of balance; but measure was one of Titian's pre-eminent gifts, and he shows it nowhere more fully than here. The subject represents the Madonna enthroned, Saints Peter, Anthony of Padua, and Francis are at her side, while below are kneeling members of the Pesaro family, and in the upper part of the picture are flying cherubs. M. Lafenestre notes that the work is freer, franker, more personal, and more Venetian than the Assumption. There is a study in red chalk for the Pesaro Madonna in Vienna.

[37] In the Museum of Antwerp there is a picture by Titian in which Jacopo Pesaro ("Baffo") kneels before St. Peter and is presented by the Pope. Pesaro's nickname, Baffo, came from his titular bishopric of Paphos in Cyprus. The composition of the picture is simple and very decorative. Crowe and Cavalcaselle date the work as having been painted in 1503, Morelli thinks it a later work.

[38] This picture, now in the Vatican, was first exhibited in 1523 in the little church of San Niccolo de' Frari, in Venice. Some vandal has cut off the

was drawn on wood by Titian himself, and was then engraved and painted by others.*

After the completion of these works, our artist painted, for the Church of San Rocco, a figure of Christ bearing his Cross; the Saviour has a rope round his neck, and is dragged forward by a Jew;[39] many have thought this a work of Giorgione: it has become an object of the utmost devotion in Venice, and has received more crowns as offerings than have been earned by Titian and Giorgione both, through the whole course of their lives. Now Titian had taken the Portrait of Bembo,[40] then Secretary to Pope Leo X., and was by him invited to Rome, that he might see the city, with Raffaello da Urbino and other distinguished persons; but the artist having delayed his journey until 1520, when the Pope and Raffaello were both dead, put it off for

arched top to the panel in order, it is said, that a pendant of like shape might be obtained for Raphael's Transfiguration. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *op. cit.*, I., p. 288, say of Vasari, that in his "characteristic description he displayed the inward struggles of a man whose heart told him to praise, whilst his education urged him to reprove." In the picture Peter and Anthony of Padua appear, as well as the Saints mentioned by Vasari. The panel measures 3.98 metres high by 2.63, is badly cracked and much "restored;" the foot of St. Francis and part of St. Sebastian's right leg below the knee are repainted. Sir Joshua Reynolds, in 1752, found the picture so dark (in S. Niccolo) that nothing could be made out except the body of St. Sebastian, which seemed to be headless. As a composition, even allowing for the loss of the *lunette*, the picture is somewhat monotonous and lacking in dominating motive.

* This is a most misleading mistranslation. The word *stampata*, published, being translated painted. The passage in the original really means that Titian drew the subject of this picture on wood and that it was engraved and published by others. Andrea Andreani engraved it. See A. Venturi, *La Galleria Vaticana*, Rome, 1890.

[39] In his life of Giorgione, Vasari has ascribed this picture to that master. It is considered, however, an authentic work of Titian. It was executed in 1517, and is still in one of the side chapels of the church of San Rocco.

[40] There is no certainty about these portraits of Bembo; Titian is said to have painted a second one later; a portrait in the Barberini Gallery attributed to Titian is not accepted by Morelli, Italian Painters, I., p. 310. Sig. Cavalcaselle (*L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, IV., pp. 1–8) thinks a picture in the Naples Gallery may be a portrait of Bembo by Titian. M. Pierre de Nolhac (*Petites notes sur l'Art* in the *Courrier de l'Art*) gives reasons for believing that it may be by a pupil of Titian.

Titian. Assumption of the Virgin.

that time altogether. For the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore he painted a picture of St. John the Baptist in the Wilderness; there is an Angel beside him that appears to be living; and a distant Landscape, with trees on the bank of a river, which are very graceful.[41] He took portraits of the Prince Grimani and Loredano, which were considered admirable,[42] and not long afterwards he painted the portrait of King Francis, who was then leaving Italy to return to France.[43]

When Andrea Gritti[44] was elected Doge, our artist made his Portrait also; a beautiful thing it is, the likeness being in the figure of Sant' Andrea, who makes one of a group, consisting of Our Lady, San Marco, and himself. The picture is now in the Hall of the College. He painted other portraits of the Doges likewise, that being in his office, as we have said; and these were Pietro Lando, Francesco Donato, Marcantonio Trevisano, and Veniero; but in respect to the two Doges and brothers Pauli,* he was excused, because he had become very old at the time of their election.

The renowned poet, Pietro Aretino, having left Rome before the sack of that city, and repaired to Venice, then became the intimate of Titian and Sansovino, which was both honourable and useful to the former, who was by that circumstance made known wherever the pen of the writer

* Priuli rather.

[41] The St. John the Baptist is in the Venetian Academy.

[42] Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle state that no portrait of Loredano by Titian exists, and that no trace of such a portrait appears in the public documents. Titian painted Grimani several times; three of these portraits are in the possession of private families at Padua, Vienna, and Venice. See Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *op. cit.*, I., p. 244.

[43] The very strongly characterized profile portrait of Francis I. is in the Louvre.

[44] The official portraits of the Doges perished in the great fire of 1577, which destroyed so many masterpieces in the Ducal Palace. Some of the Doges were painted several times by Titian, probably none oftener than Andrea Gritti. For a notice of the existing portraits of Gritti, see Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle's Titian, I., p. 301, and note.

had reached, more especially to certain powerful princes, as will be related in due time. To return, meanwhile, to the works of Titian : it was by him that the Altar-piece of San Piero Martire, in the Church of SS. Giovanni and Paolo, was painted. San Piero, a figure larger than life, is seen extended on the earth, in a wood of very large trees, he is fiercely assailed by a Soldier, who has already wounded him so grievously in the head, that although still living, the shadows of death are seen on his face. The countenance of another Monk, who is flying from the scene, exhibits the utmost terror. In the air are two nude figures of Angels descending from Heaven in a blaze of light, by which the picture is illumined : these are most beautiful, as is indeed the whole work, which is the best and most perfectly finished, as it is the most renowned of any that Titian has yet executed.[45] This painting having been seen by Gritti, who was ever the friend of Titian as well as of Sansovino, he caused the former to receive a commission for the Story of a great Battle-piece, to be painted in the Hall of the Grand Council, and representing the route of Chiaradadda.[46] The

[45] The Death of St. Peter, called by contemporaries Titian's masterpiece, was a picture in which the artist compelled trees, clouds, and draperies to be as dramatic as murderer and martyr. When Titian painted it, Michelangelo had just been a sojourner in Venice, and Sebastian del Piombo had revisited his native city; the science of Florence is reflected in the drawing and modelling closer than is Titian's wont, of the figures. The picture became very famous. Dolce sets his interlocutors before it in the opening to his *Dialogo della Pittura;* the Signoria (we are told) forbade on pain of death that any one should remove the work from the chapel of the Rosary of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, but on the 16th of August, 1867, fire carried it off. It is replaced by a copy of Cardi de Cigoli, and another ancient copy is in San Domenico of Ancona. Titian, Palma, and Pordenone competed for the commission of the St. Peter Martyr, and it was completed April 17, 1530.

[46] This was the Battle of Cadore; the painting was burned in the Ducal Palace in 1577. Like Michelangelo and Leonardo da Vinci, Titian painted a great battle-scene, and like the battles of Pisa and Anghiara, the battle of Cadore has perished. Titian's commission ordered him to fill a panel in the Ducal Palace, under which was inscribed "*Urbs Spoletanae que sola pape favebat obsessa et victæ ab imperatore deletur.*" According to the rules of the state he therefore was to paint the battle of Spoleto, but he turned this imperial victory into the battle of Cadore, namely, an imperial defeat at the

soldiers are contending furiously, while heavy rain is falling on them. The work is wholly copied from the life, and is considered the best, most animated, and most beautiful picture in the Hall. In the same Palace, at the foot of one of the staircases, our artist depicted a Madonna in fresco.[47]

No long time after, Titian painted a Picture for a gentleman of the Contarini family, the subject was Our Saviour at Table with Cleophas and Luke; but the gentleman, considering that the beauty of the work rendered it worthy to be seen in public—as it certainly is—presented it, he being a lover of his country, as a gift to the Signoria, when it was kept for some time in the apartments of the Doge, but it is now placed in a more public position, and where it can be seen by all, over the Door of the Hall leading to that of the Council of Ten namely.[48] About the same year our artist executed a picture of the Virgin ascending the steps of the Temple for the Scuola of Santa Maria della Carità: the Heads in this work are all portraits from the life.[49] He also

hands of Venetians, and those Venetians the Cadorine fellow-countrymen of Titian himself. There is some reason to believe that the patriotism of the Doge caused him to wink at the substitution of victory for defeat, and that the prudence of the Doge caused him to have the inscription removed, for Sansovino, who affects to believe that the work represents the Spoletan fight, is careful to add that there is no inscription under it. The whole affair is absolutely characteristic of Venetian state pride and prudent hypocrisy.

[47] At the bottom of the staircase in the Ducal Palace leading from the private apartments of the Doge to the Senate chamber, Titian painted a fresco, still existing, of St. Christopher (not the Madonna) with the Christ Child upon his shoulder. Faint traces of a figure of a Madonna also exist in another place.

[48] Painted for Alessandro Contarini, the patrician-poet. Titian finished (1547) this work in his old age; it is now in the Louvre.

[49] It was the privilege of the great masters of the culminating period to take the typical work of famous predecessors and expand it to a breadth and freedom unknown to the *quattrocento*. In the Presentation of the Virgin at the Temple, Titian takes the subject of Gentile Bellini, that is to say, a panoramic subject in which the figures are small and the *mise en scène* is important. The wide blank surface of the side of a flight of stairs is the focal spot in the effect of the picture, the figures are relatively so small that, as with Gentile Bellini, they seem almost insignificant; but this apparent insignificance is atoned for by the individual charm and grace of the little

painted a small Picture of St. Jerome doing Penance, for the Scuola of San Faustino; this was much commended by artists, but was destroyed by fire about two years since, together with the whole church.[50]

In 1530, when the Emperor Charles V. was in Bologna, Titian, by the intervention of Pietro Aretino, was invited to that city by the Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, and there he made a magnificent Portrait of his Majesty in full armour.[51] This gave so much satisfaction that the artist received a present of a thousand crowns for the same. Out of these he had subsequently to give the half to Alfonso Lombardi the sculptor, who had made a model of that monarch to be executed in marble, as we have related in his Life.[52]

Virgin who ascends the steps. The glory of this noble picture is, however, its atmosphere; the air seems to be alive, perhaps in no other canvas, even at Venice, are buildings and figures alike so completely "enveloped" by air, so wholly steeped in one quiet harmony. There are many portraits among the spectators of the Presentation. Bembo and Titian himself are included among them. As the Presentation was originally placed, the tops of several doors cut into the picture. When the latter was removed the gaps were stopped and painted, certain additions were made to the figures, and the simulated opening beneath the steps was introduced.

[50] A half-length St. Jerome, formerly in Padua in the collection of Dr. L. Sotti, has been bought by the Turin Gallery. There is a St. Jerome also in the Brera at Milan.

[51] It has been argued that the portrait must have been painted during the visit of 1532, not of 1530. M. Müntz's (*La Fin de la Renaissance*) frank avowal, that to him Charles here looks like Don Quixote on Rosinante, is by no means an exaggerated criticism, but technically the work has been considered a masterpiece for generations.

[52] Vasari's story of this incident is here given entire in the form of a note from the life of Alfonso Lombardi.

When the Emperor Charles V. was in Bologna, the portrait of His Majesty was taken by the most excellent Tiziano of Cadore, which Alfonso seeing, desired to try his skill likewise in a portrait of the same monarch. But having no other means of accomplishing this desire than by favour of Tizian himself, he applied to the latter, yet without saying a word of what he had in his mind, begging that he would permit him to enter the presence of his Majesty, in the place of one of those whe were wont to bear his colours. Tizian was always exceedingly obliging, and as he also liked Alfonso very much, he permitted that artist to accompany him to the apartment of the emperor. Alfonso there chose his place immediately behind Tizian in such a manner that the latter, being deeply intent on his occupation, did not observé what he was doing; and

Titian. Presentation of the Virgin.

Having returned to Venice, Titian there found that many gentlemen had begun to favour Pordenone,[53] commending exceedingly the works executed by that artist in the Ceiling of the Hall of the Pregai,* and elsewhere. They had also procured him the commission for a small Picture in the Church of San Giovanni Elemosinario, which they intended him to paint, in competition with one representing that Saint in his Episcopal habits, which had previously been executed there by Titian.[54] But whatever care and pains Pordenone

thus taking a small case in his hand, he modelled a portrait of the monarch in a medallion of gypsum and completed his work, exactly at the moment when Tizian had also finished his portrait. The emperor then rising, Alfonso concealed the little case within which was the medallion, and had already slipped it into his sleeve, to the end that Tizian might not perceive it, when his Majesty said to him, "Show what it is that thou hast been doing." Whereupon he was compelled to place his work humbly in the hand of the sovereign. Charles examined it therefore, and having highly commended the execution, he inquired, "Wouldst thou have courage to attempt the same in marble?" "Yes, your sacred Majesty," replied Alfonso. "Do it then," rejoined the emperor, "and bring me the work to Genoa."

How extraordinary all this appeared to Tizian may be easily conceived by every one. For my own part, I cannot but think that he must have felt his own credit compromised by such an occurrence; but what must have appeared to him the most singular part of the story was this, that when the emperor sent the present of a thousand scudi to Tizian, he desired the latter to give five hundred of the same to Alfonso; whereat, whether Tizian felt aggrieved or not, we may all imagine. Alfonso immediately applying himself to his work with the utmost diligence, did, of a truth, execute the marble bust with so much delicacy, that it was acknowledged by every one to be a most admirable work: wherefore, having taken it to the emperor, he received from that monarch an additional three hundred scudi.

* More properly *Pregadi.*

[53] The relations between Titian and Pordenone became somewhat stormy toward 1537. In June of that year the Council of Ten decreed that as Titian has received an annual salary from 1516, on condition that he should paint the canvas of the Land Fight in the hall of the Great Council, and had not fulfilled his promise, he should refund all money for the time in which he had done no work. To Pordenone was allotted the space upon the walls next to that which had been saved for Titian's picture. The decree had an immediate result, and Titian began at once to paint the battle of Cadore. Pordenone, who had been ennobled by the king of Hungary, claimed, by right of his patent, to wear a sword, lest he should be attacked by Titian. There is, however, no proof that the latter ever gave Pordenone any reason for fear.

[54] Both of the works are *in situ.* Titian's picture was executed in 1533. As

took, he could not equal nor even approach the work of the former. Titian was then appointed to paint a picture of the Annunciation for the Church of Santa Maria degli Angeli, at Murano, but those who gave the commission for the work, not wishing to pay so much as five hundred crowns, which Titian required as its price, he sent it, by the advice of Pietro Aretino, as a gift to Charles V., who being greatly delighted with the work, made him a present of two thousand crowns.[55] The place which the Picture was to have occupied at Murano, was then filled by one from the hand of Pordenone.

When the Emperor, some time after this, returned with his army from Hungary, and was again at Bologna, holding a conference with Clement VII., he desired to have another portrait taken of him by Titian,[56] who, before he departed from the city, also painted that of the Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici in the Hungarian dress, with another of the same Prelate fully armed, which is somewhat smaller than the first;[57] these are both now in the Guardaroba of Duke Cosimo. He painted the portraits of Alfonso, Marquis of Davalos,[58] and of Pietro Aretino,[59] at the same period, and these things

is the case with certain other pictures by the master, the shape of it has been altered.

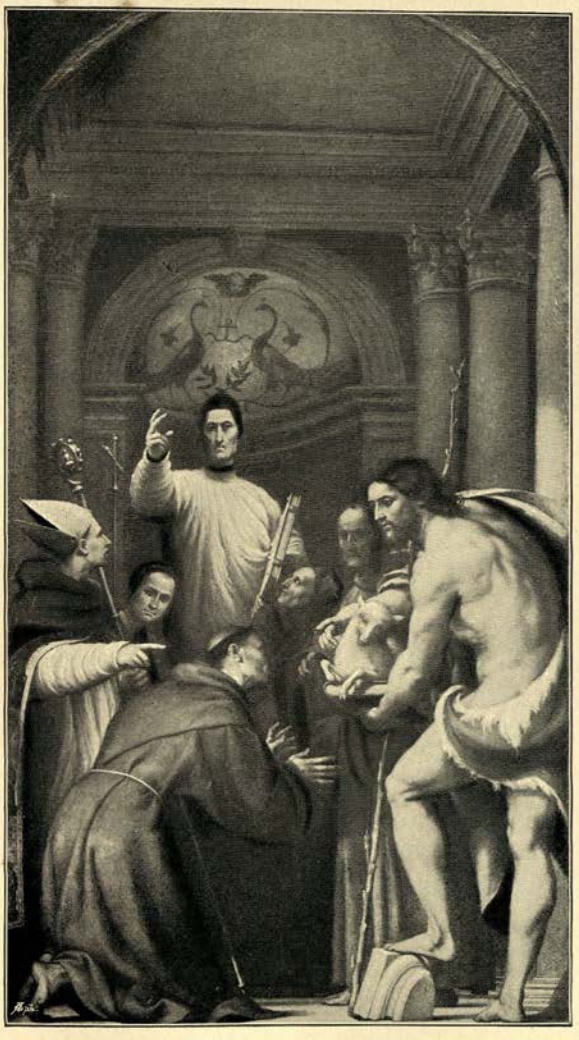
[55] The picture was presented not to the Emperor but to the Empress, who sent Titian the 2,000 crowns, as stated by Vasari. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle say that this picture perished in Spain.

[56] Probably one of those mentioned in note 51.

[57] There is a portrait of Ippolito de' Medici in the Pitti painted in 1532. The portrait of Ippolito in the Louvre is now registered as a copy. See Crowe and Cavalcaselle's Titian.

[58] Titian painted an "Allocution" for Davalos in which the latter figured with his son Francesco Ferrante by his side. The picture, which went eventually to Spain (Madrid), was injured by fire and practically destroyed by restoration, see note 75. There is a fine picture in the Louvre in which a warrior said to be Davalos is attended by Cupid, Hymen, and Victory, who console him for his projected departure from his wife, Mary of Arragon, who sits holding in her hands a crystal globe. The picture, very freely painted and rich in color, is thoroughly characteristic of the master. See also the reference in Aretino's play, *La Cortegiana*.

[59] Titian painted Aretino six times; once as Pilate in the *Ecce Homo* (for Giovanni d' Anna), once in the Allocution for del Vasto, once for Ippolito de'



Pordenone. St Lorenzo Giustiniani.

having made him known to Federigo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, he entered the service of the latter, and accompanied him to his states. At Mantua our artist made a Portrait of the Duke which appears to breathe,[60] and afterwards executed that of his brother, the Cardinal.[61] These being finished, he painted twelve beautiful Heads of the Twelve Cæsars, to decorate one of the Rooms erected by Giulio Romano, and when they were done, Giulio painted a Story from the Lives of the Emperors beneath each head.[62]

In Cadore, the native place of Titian, that artist has painted a picture wherein is Our Lady, San Tiziano, the Bishop, and his own Portrait in a kneeling position.[63] In the year that Pope Paul III. went to Bologna, and thence to Ferrara, Titian having gone to the court, took the Portrait

Medici, once for the Printer Marcolini, and twice for Aretino himself. Titian presented a portrait of Aretino to the Marquis Gonzaga in 1527. The portrait in the Pitti Gallery was painted in 1546. Aretino intended it as a present to Cosimo I. de' Medici, but the latter had to pay for it. Aretino described this work as a "hideous marvel." Morelli, Italian Painters, I., p. 309, as also Sig. Cavalcaselle, *L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, IV., p. 1, think that a portrait of Aretino at an advanced age in the collection of Prince Mario Chigi is by Titian.

[60] The picture of the Marquis Gonzaga which was painted in 1530 is lost. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle cite D'Arco, *Delle Arti di Mantova*, as authority for the statement that the picture existed as late as 1627.

[61] Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle place this picture in their list of missing portraits.

[62] The Twelve Cæsars were shipped to England in 1628, but afterward were given to the Spanish Ambassador by the Commonwealth. They were frequently copied, but nearly all the originals appear to be lost. Even Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle in their Titian fail to clear up the matter in a satisfactory manner. Baldinucci states that Titian only executed eleven of the Cæsars. Various copies or studies exist; some of them are attributed to Titian. For details of these Cæsars and also for Sadeler's prints representing them as half-length figures in armor, and wreathed with laurel, see Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *op. cit.*, I., pp. 421-424. The originals seem in their time to have provoked great enthusiasm. Agostino Caracci wrote upon the margin of a copy of Vasari at the passage regarding these heads of the Twelve Cæsars, "*molto belle e belle in modo che non si puo far più ne vanto.*"

[63] It is doubtful if Titian executed this picture himself, but it was probably finished under his direction. Titian is supposed to be the acolyte. Crowe and Cavalcaselle suggest Orazio Vecelli as the real author of the picture.

of His Holiness, a very fine work.[64] He also painted that of the Cardinal Santa Fiore; * both of these works, for which he was very well paid by the Pope, are now in Rome; one in the Guardaroba of Cardinal Farnese, the other in the hands of those who became heirs of the Cardinal Santa Fiore: many copies have been taken from them, and these are dispersed throughout Italy. About the same time our artist made the Portrait of Francesco Maria, Duke of Urbino;[65] and this is so wonderfully beautiful, that it was celebrated by Messer Pietro Aretino in a sonnet, which begins thus:—

*Se il chiaro Apelle con la man dell' Arte*
*Rassemprò d' Alessandro il volto e il petto.*

In the Guardaroba of the same Duke there are two female heads by Titian, which are very pleasing, with a recumbent figure of Venus, partially covered with flowers, and transparent draperies, the whole exceedingly beautiful and finely finished.[66] There is a half-length of Santa Maria

* This is a mistranslation and should read "and from it he made another for Cardinal Santa Fiore," that is to say, Titian made a *replica* of the Pope's portrait for Santa Fiore. Several *repliche* of the portrait of Paul occur, some of which are attributed to Titian as originals.

[64] There is a fine portrait of Paul III. in the Museum of Naples, as well as of Pier Luigi Farnese and Cardinal Alessandro. Paul III., Ottavio, and Alessandro Farnese are also painted together upon one canvas now in the Museum of Naples.

[65] The portrait of Francesco Maria I. della Rovere, Duke of Urbino, with that of his wife Eleonora Gonzaga, sister of the Duke of Mantua, is in the Uffizi. They were painted in 1537 and are among Titian's most celebrated portraits. Northcote notes Vasari's supposition that Titian did the portrait of the Duke of Urbino when Paul III. was in Bologna and Ferrara in 1543, and thinks that the author confounds, according to his custom, the works done for Francesco Maria with those executed for his son Guidobaldo. It is certain, says the same author, that Titian before 1537 had painted not only the portrait of Francesco, but also that of his wife Eleonora, which Vasari fails to record. A letter of Aretino is offered to substantiate the statement.

[66] There are two famous Venuses by Titian in the Uffizi. They were both painted for Francesco Maria I., Duke of Urbino, and the heads have been called respectively portraits of Lavinia and of Eleonora Gonzaga. There is also a well-known Venus by Titian in Madrid; at one side of the picture a man

Maddalena, with dishevelled hair, which is likewise very beautiful,[67] with Portraits of Charles V., King Francis, as a youth, the Duke Guidobaldo II., Pope Sixtus IV., Julius II., Paul III., the old Cardinal of Lorraine, and Soliman, Emperor of the Turks; all from the hand of Titian, and exceedingly fine. In that same Guardaroba, among many other things, is an antique Head of the Carthaginian Hannibal, cut in a cornelian, with a beautiful bust in marble by Donatello.

In the year 1541 Titian painted the picture of the High Altar, in the Church of the Santo Spirito in Venice, the subject being the Descent of the Holy Spirit on the Apostles; the Almighty is represented in fire, and the Spirit as a Dove. This picture having shown signs of deterioration in a very short time, Titian had much discussion with the monks of Santo Spirito respecting it, and was ultimately obliged to re-paint the work, which is that now

is playing on an organ. The Darmstadt Venus is not catalogued as an original; there are many *repliche* of it. The famous Venus of Dresden, cited by Crowe and Cavalcaselle as "assigned dubiously to Sassoferrato" as a copy, is ascribed by Morelli to Giorgione, and its attribution is perhaps the most celebrated of those made by that critic. The Venus Anadyomene in Bridgewater House, as well as the Actæon and the Calisto, are both of 1559. The original sketch for a Venus and Adonis is at Alnwick; the completed picture recorded by Ridolfi as in the Farnese collection has disappeared; variations or copies of it exist in Vienna, at Cobham Hall, and Leigh Court. See Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *op. cit.*, II., p. 151. In the picture at the Hermitage of St. Petersburg, and called the Toilette of Venus, the goddess is the very prototype of Paul Veronese's women. Of this fine picture, once in the Barbarigo collection, Titian made several *repliche*. In the Louvre there is a beautiful picture by Titian called at one time the Venus del Pardo and known now as the "Jupiter and Antiope." It was painted for Philip II., given by him to Charles I. of England (catalogued in his collection by Bathol, Ashmolean MS. (see Crowe and Cavalcaselle), as "the great, large, and famous piece called in Spain the 'Venus del Pardo,' which the King of Spain gave to our King when he was in Spain . . . done by Titian"), and was afterward bought by Jabach. The Europa painted for Philip, finished 1562, is at Cobham Hall. The above list (if we add the Bacchanals and the Sacred and Profane Love) comprises the principal subjects in which Titian treated the nude.

[67] Executed in 1531 for Francesco Maria II., Duke of Urbino; it is now in the Pitti Palace. It was so popular that several *repliche* and many copies were made of it.

on the Altar.[68] At Brescia Titian painted the picture of the High Altar in the Church of San Nazzaro,[69] which he did in five divisions: the centre has the Resurrection of Our Lord, with soldiers around the sepulchre; in the sides are San Nazzaro, San Sebastiano, the Angel Gabriel, and the Virgin receiving the Annunciation. In the Cathedral of Verona he painted the Assumption of Our Lady into Heaven, with the Apostles standing beneath; this is held to be the best modern painting in that city.[70] In the same year, 1541, this master painted the Portrait of Don Diego di Mendoza, then Ambassador from Charles V. to Venice; that beautiful portrait is a full-length, standing upright; and from that time Titian began the custom, since become frequent, of painting portraits at full length.[71] In the same manner he made the likeness of the Cardinal of Trent, then a youth,[72] and for Francesco Marcolini he took the portrait of Pietro Aretino;[73] but this is not so fine a one as that which the same person caused to be taken, and sent himself as a present to the Duke Cosimo de' Medici, to whom he also sent the Head of the Signor Giovanni de Medici, father of the Duke.[74] This last was taken from a

[68] This picture is now in one of the chapels of the Church of Santa Maria della Salute, Venice, and is much injured. Titian was in litigation regarding this work in 1544. It was originally composed for the canons of San Spirito in Isola. In the Uffizi there is a drawing for a Descent of the Holy Spirit which is majestic in its composition and powerful in its concentration. See reproduction in G. Lafenestre, *Le Titien*, p. 187.

[69] This altar-piece, which is in the church of SS. Nazaro e Celso at Brescia, was delivered in 1522. The envoy of the Duke of Ferrara tried hard to persuade Titian to let his master have one of the panels (the Saint Sebastian) of this altar-piece and to substitute another for it; the painter at first refused and finally consented, but the affair fell through, and apparently both prince and painter were ashamed of their underhand proceeding.

[70] Painted about 1543; it is still in the Cathedral over the tomb of Bishop Galesio.

[71] Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle state that this picture is lost.

[72] Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle say that this picture is still preserved at Trent in the house of the Salvadori.

[73] The portraits of Aretino have been discussed in note 59.

[74] The Portrait of Giovanni de' Medici, called *Giovanni delle Bande Nere*,

cast made from the face of Giovanni after his death, at Mantua, which cast was in possession of Pietro. The portraits are both in the Guardaroba of the Duke with other noble pictures.

In the same year Giorgio Vasari was in Venice, where he passed thirteen months, employed, as I have said, in the decoration of a ceiling for Messer Giovanni Cornaro, and certain works for the Company of the Calza, when Sansovino, who was directing the construction of Santo Spirito, caused him to make designs for three large pictures in oil, which were to be executed in the ceiling of Santo Spirito, and which Vasari was to paint; but Giorgio having departed, the three pictures were given to Titian, who executed the same most admirably, having taken especial pains with the foreshortening of the figures. In one of these pictures is the Sacrifice of Isaac by his father Abraham; in the second, David taking off the head of Goliath; and in the third, Cain killing Abel.[75] About the same time Titian painted his own Portrait,[76] that this memorial of himself

was taken from a death-mask made by Giulio Romano. Giovanni was mortally wounded at the battle of Mantua, 1526, when in his twenty-ninth year.

[75] These pictures are in Santa Maria della Salute. In these very spirited compositions there is a strong reminiscence of the Death of Peter Martyr, painted by Titian for SS. Giovanni e Paolo. Fine old engravings by Val. Lefebvre from these ceilings are reproduced by M. Lafenestre in his *Titien*, pp. 193–195.

[76] There is a portrait of Titian by himself at Madrid, perhaps painted in 1562. The one in Vienna represents him as much younger, and is so injured that the authorship is uncertain; that in Berlin is, say Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *op. cit.*, II., p. 60, an authentic portrait by himself; the Uffizi portrait may be, say the same authors, either by Titian or Marco Vecelli; but recently another portrait has been found in the storehouses of the Uffizi, which is believed by Signor G. B. Cavalcaselle (*Spigolature Tizianesche, L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, IV., p. 1, 1891) to be the original painted by Titian for his children; it is now placed beside the other portrait in the gallery. The engraving of Titian with his hand upon the waist of his daughter Lavinia is by Odoardo Fialetti. The many pictures which are said to represent Titian in conversation with a friend (Aretino, Zuccato, etc.) are not considered genuine. Veronese painted Titian in his Marriage of Cana, and Palma Giovine introduced a portrait of him in the ceiling of the Oratory of San Fantino.

might be left to his children ;[77] and in the year 1546, being invited to Rome by the Cardinal Farnese, he repaired to that city accordingly.[78] There he found Vasari, who had then returned from Naples, and was painting the Hall of the Chancery for the Cardinal Farnese, by whom Titian

[77] Titian's wife, Cecilia, who bore him Pomponio, Orazio, and Lavinia, died in 1530, and was buried August 5th (Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *op. cit.*, I., p. 345). Ticozzi says that Titian married her in 1512; Lafenestre says somewhere between 1512 and 1530. He never remarried; his son Pomponio took orders but proved a worthless fellow. Orazio became a painter, aided his father all his life, and died a month or so after him. Lavinia, the daughter, married Cornelio Sarcinelli of Serravalle in 1555. Titian painted her many times; she is seen twice in the Dresden Gallery, once as about fourteen years old in the *Ecce Homo* of Vienna, again in the idealized portrait of Berlin, painted probably, says Morelli, for Argentina Pallavicino of Reggio, in 1549. Lastly her father painted her again when she was about forty years old. From 1516 to 1530 Titian lived in the heart of Venice in the parish of San Samuele. In 1531 he went to the open northeastern garden quarter of Venice and settled in the house of Biri Grande, parish of San Canciano, where he died. In 1531 Titian saw from his house the island of Murano, the Ceneda hills, and his own Cadorine mountain, the Antelao; saw too in his own courtyard, says Zanetti, the very trees which were painted in the Death of Peter Martyr. To-day the quarter is built up, the view is gone, and one goes to the Campo di Tiziano by wonderful twists and turnings, through Calle Widman, Sotto-portico of the Algaradi, the Alley of Smoke and the Alley of the Arches, and when the house is reached it is a simple affair, much changed since the time when it sheltered Titian and his guest Priscianese, who tells in his *Gramatica Latina* (Venice, 1540) how at Biri Grande he sat in the garden and supped with Sansovino, Aretino, Nardi, and the master himself. To-day there is an inscription on the house, *Tiziano Vecelli qui per novi lustri abitó e mori nel MDLXXVI, Venezia nel IV. centenaio pose.*

[78] While in Rome Titian lodged and painted in the Belvedere of the Vatican. The Pope received him kindly, Bembo welcomed him cordially, Vasari acted as his cicerone among the antiques of the Vatican, and Michelangelo visited him at the Belvedere. The Venetian returned courtesy for courtesy, and to his fellow-Venetian, Sebastian, he praised the frescoes of Raphael unstintingly; he seems to have been a generous guest, refusing to rob Sebastiano Luciani and Giovanni da Udine of their pensions (which the Pope would have had given to *him*, Titian). One would like to know what he eventually told to Aretino, who wrote him that he longed for his return for his answer to many questions—how he liked the antiques, how far they exceeded the work of Buonarroti, how Michelangelo and Raphael compared as painters, what "Saint Peter's" was like. Aretino also asked Titian to note carefully the work of Sebastian, and of Perino del Vaga, to study the *intagli* of Bucino, to compare the Roman work with that of Sansovino, and not to let the contemplation of the Last Judgment keep him too long away from his Venetian gossips.

was recommended to his care, whereupon Giorgio kept him faithful company in his visits to the remarkable objects of Rome.

Having rested himself for a few days, Titian then received rooms in the Belvedere, and was commissioned to make another full-length Portrait of Pope Paul III.,[79] with that of Farnese,[80] and of the Duke Ottavio; all of which he executed to the great satisfaction of those Signori, who then prevailed on him to paint a half-length figure of Christ, in the manner of the *Ecce Homo*, as a present for the Pope.[81] But this work, whether it were that the paintings of Michelagnolo, of Raffaello, of Polidoro, and of others, had made him lose courage, or from some other cause, although a good picture, did not appear to the painters equal in excellence to others of his productions, more particularly his portraits. Now it chanced that Michelagnolo and Vasari, going one day to see Titian in the Belvedere, beheld a picture, which he had just then finished, of a nude figure representing Danæ, with Jupiter transformed into a shower of gold in her lap,[82] many of

[79] This is probably the well-known triple portrait in the Museum at Naples in which the Pope sits, Ottavio bends before him, and Alessandro stands upright at the left of the picture. Titian made several *repliche* of portraits of Paul III., which have been lost. The one painted for Cardinal Santa Fiore is the celebrated canvas in Naples, a single figure (see Crowe and Cavalcaselle, II., pp. 85-87). The Farnese got much work out of Titian, and gave only caresses and promises in return. The story (told also of other portraits of Popes) is that when the freshly varnished portrait of Paul III. was put out to dry on the terrace, people took off their hats to it, mistaking it for the Pope himself.

[80] A portrait of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese is in the Corsini Gallery, Rome. It is so badly injured and so much repainted that its authenticity has been questioned. The likeness of Cardinal Farnese in the Naples Museum is also so much injured that Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle say that they fail to recognize the hand of Titian.

[81] A half-length figure of Christ painted on slate is in Madrid. There is another *Ecce Homo* in the Gallery of Vienna which contains many life-size figures (see note 12), and was painted for Giovanni d' Anna.

[82] Four originals of this subject exist in Naples, Madrid, Vienna, and St. Petersburg. The Naples picture dates from 1545 (the Madrid painting has disappeared); it was delivered in 1854 to Philip of Spain; in this work the

those present beginning to extol the work (as people do when the artist stands by) praised it not a little : when, all having left the place, and talking of Titian's work, Buonarroti declared that the manner and colouring of that artist pleased him greatly, but that it was a pity the Venetians did not study drawing more, "for if this artist," said he, "had been aided by Art and knowledge of design, as he is by nature, he would have produced works which none could surpass, more especially in imitating life, seeing that he has a fine genius, and a graceful animated manner." And it is certainly true that whoever has not practised design extensively, and studied the best works, ancient and modern, can never attain to the perfection of adding what may be wanting to the copy which he makes from the life, giving to it that grace and completion whereby Art goes beyond the hand of Nature, which very frequently produces parts that are not beautiful.

Titian left Rome enriched by many gifts from those Signori, more particularly by a benefice of good income for Pomponio his son ;[83] but first his second son, Orazio, had completed the Portrait of Messer Battista Ceciliano, an excellent player of the violin, which is a good work, Titian himself having made certain Portraits besides, for Guidobaldo, Duke of Urbino. Arrived at Florence, he was amazed at the sight of the fine works in that city no less than he had been by those of Rome. He then visited Duke Cosimo, and offered to take his portrait ; but the Duke did not give himself much trouble in the matter, perhaps because he had no mind to offer a slight to the many noble artists of his own city and dominions.

Cupid of the Naples picture is replaced by a figure of a maid-servant who catches the shower of gold in the lap of her gown.

[83] Titian seems to have had in reality no remuneration except promises from either Pope or Cardinal, and his son's benefice a year after it was bestowed had brought him nothing. Titian was offered the office of Piombo (keeper of the seal to the Papal Bulls), but he refused it in order that it might not be taken from Fra Sebastiano, or from Giovanni da Udine, who also drew a pension from that office.

Having reached Venice, Titian then finished an Allocution (as they call it) for the Marquis del Vasto, and which that Signore had made to his soldiers.[84] He afterwards executed the portrait of Charles V., with that of the Catholic King, and of many other persons. These labours completed, Titian painted a small picture of the Annunciation[85] for the Church of Santa Maria Nuova, and afterwards, using the assistance of his disciples, he painted a Last Supper in the Refectory of S. S. Giovanni and Paolo,[86] with a picture for the High Altar of the Church of San Salvatore, the subject of which was the Transfiguration; and an Annunciation for another Altar in the same Church.[87] But these last works, though there are good qualities in them, were not much esteemed by the master himself, and have not the perfection seen in many of his other paintings. The productions, but more especially the portraits of Titian, are so numerous that it would be almost impossible to make the record of them all. I will therefore speak of the principal only, and that without order of time, seeing that it does not much signify to tell which was painted earlier and which later. He took the Portrait of Charles V. several times,[88] as we have said, and was finally invited by that monarch to his Court;[89] there he painted him as he was in those last

[84] The Allocution, which is now in the Museum of the Prado, at Madrid, was injured by fire and repainting. Northcote has pointed out that Vasari's statement that he painted this work on his return from Rome to Venice must be a mistaken one, as the date would then necessarily be 1546, whereas we have proof from a letter of Aretino that the picture was already under way in 1540. It was probably finished soon after 1541.

[85] There is a very beautiful Annunciation over the stairway of the Scuola di San Rocco, which was painted in 1515, and is well preserved.

[86] The Last Supper perished by a fire in 1571.

[87] The impressive picture of the Transfiguration is still in its place as well as the Annunciation. Vasari's statement that Titian did not greatly esteem his work, is controverted by the master's emphatic doubling of the verb in his signature, *Titianus fecit fecit.*

[88] See note 51.

[89] At Augsburg, Titian sat to Lucas Cranach; it is hard to imagine anything more antithetical than such an artistic juxtaposition, though the meeting of Titian and Dürer is more impressive to the student of art, since this

years; and so much was that most invincible Emperor pleased with the manner of Titian, that once he had been portrayed by him, he would never permit himself to be taken by any other person.[90] Each time that Titian painted the Emperor he received a present of a thousand crowns of gold, and the artist was made a Cavalier, or Knight, by his Majesty, with a revenue of two hundred crowns yearly, secured on the Treasury of Naples, and attached to his title.[91]

*par nobile fratrum* were as like in eminence as unlike in methods. Cranach's portrait remained in Germany as the "*Conterfet*" of the painter "Thucia," of Venice.

[90] In 1532, 1533, Titian painted Charles V., and it was at this time that Alfonso Lombardi, who had been admitted to the sittings, made a relief-portrait of the Emperor, who ordered Titian to pay to Lombardi half the sum due himself. During his stay at Augsburg the artist painted Charles on horseback in the armor which he wore at Mühlberg. This picture is the famous portrait of Madrid. He painted his imperial patron again, dressed in black, and seated; this portrait is at Munich. Charles V. was the central star of a whole galaxy of sovereigns and princes painted by Titian during his stay at Augsburg. Among his sitters were the Emperor, his brother King Ferdinand, Mary the dowager Queen of Hungary, and a half dozen other princesses; the Duke of Alva, Maurice of Saxony, Philibert Emmanuel of Savoy, and the captive elector, John Frederic. In 1582 many of these portraits were in the Palace of Pardo, and it is probable that they were burned in the fire of 1608. The equestrian portrait of the Emperor was rescued from the fire, but not without receiving some injury; the picture of John Frederic in armor perished (it is mentioned by Cesare Vecellio, the pupil of Titian at Augsburg, and author of the well-known book on Costume), but a second portrait, unarmed, is at Vienna. A portrait of Nicholas Granvelle, in the museum of Besançon, is considered to be the one painted by Titian in Augsburg, while the picture of Cardinal Madruzzi is extant at Trento in the Casa Salvadori (Morelli says this latter portrait is by Moroni).

[91] The results of Charles's patronage were a pension (very fitfully and unsatisfactorily paid by the imperial agents), and titular honors never before conferred on a painter. Titian became (his first patent of nobility was dated May 10, 1533) Count Palatine, Count of the Aulic Council, of the Lateran Palace and of the Consistory, his children also having the rank of nobles of the Empire. The painter in addition became knight of the Golden Spur, and enjoyed certain petty, but substantial, privileges, which he exercised to some extent in his native province, such as the appointment of notaries and judges, and the legitimizing of children. Many stories are told of the favors with which Charles distinguished Titian; for instance, that he made the latter ride at his side during a ceremonial at Bologna, saying to his courtiers, "I can make as many lords as I wish, but God only can make a Titian;" again, that he picked up the brush which the painter had let fall, saying, "Titian is worthy to be

When Titian painted Filippo King of Spain, the son of Charles, he received another annuity of two hundred crowns; so that these four hundred added to the three hundred from the German Exchange, make him a fixed income of seven hundred crowns, which he possesses without the necessity of exerting himself in any manner. Titian presented the Portraits of Charles V. and his son Filippo to the Duke Cosimo, who has them now in his Guardaroba.[92] He also took the portrait of Ferdinand King of the Romans, who was afterwards Emperor, with those of his children, Maximilian that is to say, now Emperor, and his brother: he likewise painted the Queen Maria;[93] and at the command of the Emperor Charles, he portrayed the Duke of Saxony, when the latter was in prison.[94] But what a waste of time is this! when there has scarcely been a noble of high rank, scarcely a prince or lady of great name, whose portrait has not been taken by Titian, who in that branch of art is indeed an excellent painter.

He painted King Francis I. of France, as we have said, Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan; the Marquis of Pescara, Antonio da Leva, Massimiano Stampa, the Signor Giovambattista Castaldo, and other Signori in vast numbers.[95] He

served by Cæsar;" and that once when Titian, who had climbed upon a table that he might see a picture hung high upon the wall, found the picture still too far off, the emperor made several of his gentlemen help him to raise the table upon their shoulders.

[92] Titian painted several portraits of Philip II.; among them are the portrait in the Pitti and the portrait in armor at Madrid. For documents relating to Charles, Philip, and Titian see Manuel R. Zarco del Valle, Austrian Annuary, 1888, Vol. VII. The Duke Cosimo referred to is Cosimo II.

[93] It is probable that these pictures were among those that perished by fire in 1608. Titian painted the two sons of Ferdinand at Augsburg. As for the "children of Ferdinand—Barbara, Elena, and Giovanna" (at Panshanger Castle), the picture, if really the original Titian, was probably painted at Innsbrück in 1548 (see the letters in Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *op. cit.*).

[94] The portrait of the Elector of Saxony is in the Imperial Art Museum, Vienna. A second portrait of John Frederic perished (see note 90). A portrait of Ferdinand, King of the Romans, who (together with his brother, Charles V.) was the captor of the Elector, is in Verona, and is believed to be a genuine Titian.

[95] The letters of Titian show constantly that the ministers of Charles and

has, moreover, produced various works at different times besides those above mentioned. At Venice, for example, and by command of Charles V., he painted a large Altar-piece, the subject of which is the Triune God enthroned; Our Lady is present with the Infant Christ, who has the Dove over his head, and the whole ground is on fire, to signify Eternal Love; while the Father is surrounded by glowing Cherubim. On one side of this picture is the Emperor, and on the other the Empress, clothed in linen garments; they are kneeling in prayer with folded hands, and are surrounded by numerous Saints. The composition of this work was in accordance with the orders of his Majesty, who was then giving evidence of his intention to retire, as he afterwards did, from mundane affairs, to the end that he might die in the manner of a true Christian, fearing God and labouring for his own salvation. This picture the Emperor told Titian that he would have taken to the Monastery, where his Majesty afterwards finished the course of his life; and being a work of extraordinary merit, it is expected that engravings thereof will be published in a short time.[96]

The same master painted for the Queen Maria a figure of Prometheus bound to the Mount Caucasus and torn by the Eagle of Jupiter; with one of Sisyphus in Hell loaded with his stone, and Tityus devoured by the Vulture. All these were transmitted to her Majesty, with a figure of Tantalus of the same size, that of life namely, on cloth and in oil.[97]

Philip did not hesitate to disobey their sovereign's orders to pay, and the artist had the greatest difficulty in obtaining the sums due him.

[96] Ticozzi states that this picture was taken by Charles V. to the Monastery of St. Just. After his death it was brought to the Escurial, where it remains. The composition is pompous, cumbrous, and suggestive of later seventeenth-century art, but it has something of Titian's grandeur, and the painter has, says Colonel John Hay (Castilian Days, p. 151), "grappled with the essential difficulties of a subject that trembles on the balance of ridiculous and sublime, and has come out triumphant . . . the artist has painted heaven and is not absurd."

[97] The Prometheus, Sisyphus, Ixion, and Tantalus were burned in Spain. Copies by Sanchez Coello of the Sisyphus and Prometheus are at the Prado. The Queen Maria of Vasari was Queen Mary of Hungary, the famous regent of the Netherlands.

He painted a Venus and Adonis also, which are admirable ;[98] the Goddess is fainting as she sees herself abandoned by Adonis, who is accompanied by dogs, which are singularly natural. In a picture of the same size, Titian painted Andromeda bound to the Rock with Perseus delivering her from the Sea-monster ;[99] a more beautiful painting than this could not be imagined : and the same may be said of another, Diana Bathing with her Nymphs, and turning Actæon into a Stag.[100] He painted a figure of Europa likewise, borne over the Sea by the Bull. These pictures are in the possession of the Catholic King, and are held in high esteem for the animation imparted to them by the master, whose colours have made them almost alive.[101]

It is nevertheless true that his mode of proceeding in these last-mentioned works is very different from that pursued by him in those of his youth, the first being executed with a certain care and delicacy, which renders the work equally effective, whether seen at a distance or examined closely; while those of a later period, executed in bold strokes and with dashes, can scarcely be distinguished when the observer is near them, but if viewed from the proper distance they appear perfect. This mode of his, imitated by artists who have thought to show proof of facility, has given occasion to many wretched pictures, which probably comes from the fact that whereas many believe the works of Titian, done in the manner above described, to have been executed without labour, that is not the truth, and these persons have been deceived ; it is indeed well known that Titian went over them many times, nay, so frequently, that the labour expended on them is most obvious. And this method of proceeding is a judicious, beautiful, and admirable one, since it causes the paintings so treated to appear

[98] Titian repeated this subject several times. See note 66.

[99] The picture was delivered to Philip of Spain in 1555.

[100] The Diana and Actæon is in the Bridgewater Gallery, London.

[101] The Europa is at Cobham Hall, England. It was sent to the King of Spain by Titian in 1562.

living, they being executed with profound art, while that art is nevertheless concealed.

In a picture three braccia high and four broad, Titian painted the Infant Christ in the arms of the Virgin, and receiving the Adoration of the Magi; the work comprises numerous figures one braccio high, and is a very good one, as is another which he copied himself from this and gave to the Cardinal of Ferrara (the elder).[102] Another work by this master, representing Christ derided by the Jews, was placed in a chapel of the Church of Santa Maria delle Grazie at Milan.[103] For the Queen of Portugal he painted a picture of Christ scourged at the Column; this, which is somewhat less than life, is very beautiful.[104] For the High Altar in the Church of San Domenico, in Ancona, he painted a picture of Christ on the Cross, with our Lady, San Giovanni, and San Domenico at the foot of the same; this also is very beautiful, and in the bold manner described above.[105] The picture at the Altar of San Lorenzo, in the Church of the Crocicchieri at Venice, is by Titian; it represents the Martyrdom of San Lorenzo, with a building crowded with figures; in the midst of them lies the fore-shortened figure of San Lorenzo on the Gridiron, beneath which is a great fire, and the executioners stand around it. The time being night, there are two servants with torches giving light to

[102] This Epiphany is at Madrid in the Museum.

[103] An Entombment by Titian is now in the *Salon Carré* of the Louvre and is one of the grandest and most completely artistic pictures in existence, the composition being especially perfect at once as to line, mass, color, and concentration. About 1557 Titian painted an Entombment for Philip which, through some mismanagement, never reached him. A second example of the work was ordered and is the picture now in Madrid. There have been several *repliche* or copies of the Entombment.

[104] There are two pictures of this subject, one in the Louvre and one in the Gallery of Munich. The latter was given to Tintoretto by Titian. See M. Lafenestre's *Titien*, p. 267.

[105] This picture remains in its place, but it is greatly injured and is much repainted. The picture was painted about 1520 for the Church of San Francesco at Ancona by order of Luigi Gozzi of Ragusa. The work was afterward taken to San Domenico. It contains the Madonna and Child, Saints Francesco, Biagio, and the donor.

those parts of the picture, that are beyond the reach of the fire beneath the gridiron, which is a large and fierce one; but the light it throws, as well as that of the torches, is overcome by a flash of lightning which descends from heaven, and cleaving the clouds, shines brightly over the head of the Saint and the other principal figures. In addition to these three lights there is that of lamps and candles, held by those at the windows of the building. All this produces a fine effect, and the whole work is, in short, executed with infinite art, genius, and judgment.[106]

At the Altar of San Niccolò, in the Church of San Sebastiano, there is a small picture by Titian, representing St. Nicholas, so animated as to seem alive; it is seated in a chair painted to imitate marble, and an angel is holding the mitre; this was executed for the advocate Messer Niccolò Crasso.[107] At a later period, our artist painted a half-length figure of Mary Magdalene for the Catholic King; her hair falls about her neck and shoulders, her head is raised and the eyes are fixed on Heaven, their redness and the tears still within them, giving evidence of her sorrow for the sins of her past life. This picture, which is most beautiful, moves all who behold it to compassion; when it was finished, a Venetian gentleman, . . . . . Silvio,[108] was so much

[106] Now at an altar of the Church of the Jesuiti (Santa Maria Assunta). It is very dark, almost black, but has nevertheless a grandly impressive effect. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *op. cit.*, II., p. 260, date it as finished about 1558.

[107] The St. Nicholas *in cathedra* was delivered in 1563. The picture is still in the church, the color is deep and rich, and the golden mitre in the hands of the acolyte glows like real metal.

[108] Silvio Badoer was the gentleman who was said to have carried off the Magdalen intended for Philip; a second Magdalen was painted, and has disappeared. The Magdalen in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg went to the Barbarigo family, together with Titian's house, in 1581. There is also a well-known Magdalen in the Pitti Palace. There are *repliche* with some variations in Naples, in the Durazzo Palace of Genoa, and in the Ashburton collection; most of these have been considerably repainted, but Crowe and Cavalcaselle believe that in some of them they recognize traces of Titian's hand; for a long list of pictures representing the Magdalen and attributed to Titian, see *op. cit.*, II., pp. 315, 316, notes. The late Mr. Tilton, the Ameri-

pleased therewith, that, being a zealous lover of painting, he gave Titian a hundred crowns for the picture, and the master had to make another for the Catholic King, which was however no less beautiful.

Among the Portraits by Titian is that of a Venetian citizen his friend, called Sinistri;[109] and of Messer Paolo da Ponte, whose daughter, called the Signora Giulia da Ponte, a most beautiful damsel, and a gossip of Titian, the latter also took; as he did the Signora Irene,[110] another lovely maiden accomplished in music, in learning, and in design, who died about eight years since, and was celebrated by the pens of almost all the Italian writers. Titian also made the likeness of Messer Francesco Filetto, an orator of happy memory, with that of his son in the same picture,[111] the last appears to be living, and the portrait is now in the possession of Messer Matteo Giustiniani, a lover of these arts, who has had his own likeness taken by the painter Jacomo da Bassano, a fine work, as are many others dispersed through Venice, and also by Bassano, who is particularly excellent in small pictures, and in the painting of animals.

Titian made a second Portrait of Bembo,[112] when the latter

can painter, had a picture of the Magdalen in his possession which he believed to be a genuine Titian.

[109] The picture is lost. Among the portraits of persons not mentioned by Vasari, but whose names are known with more or less of certainty, are (see Mr. Berenson's Catalogue in his Venetian Painters of the Renaissance, pp. 123, 127) a child of Roberto Strozzi (Berlin); Tommaso Mosti (Pitti); Beccadelli, painted 1552 (Uffizi); Antonio Porcia (Milan); Benedetto Varchi; Fabrizio Salvaresio, painted 1553; Jacopo di Strada, painted 1566; these last three are in the Museum of Vienna; Doge Gritti (Czörnin). The above are from the very conservative list of Mr. Berenson. Mr. Richard Ford Heath (Titian, 1879) catalogues as by Titian a number of other portraits in English and foreign private collections. In the Louvre there are three portraits of unknown men by Titian, viz., the famous Man with the Glove, the Man with the Black Beard, and the Man with his Hand in his Belt.

[110] Irene of Spilimberg. Her portrait by Titian, as well as that of her elder sister, Emilia, still exists in the house of the Spilimbergs at Maniago.

[111] The pictures of Francesco Filetto and his son are missing.

[112] The first portrait of Bembo, painted probably about 1515, appears to have been lost; in 1540 he wrote Girolamo Quirini acknowledging the receipt

had become a Cardinal that is; he also took Fracastoro,[113] and the Cardinal Accosti of Ravenna, whose portrait the Duke Cosimo has in his Guardaroba.[114] The sculptor Danese has the portrait of a gentleman of the Delfini family by this master in his possession; and Messer Niccolò Zono tells us * that he saw the likeness of Rossa, the wife of the Grand Turk, a lady of sixteen, with that of Cameria her daughter, both by the hand of Titian, and wearing dresses and ornaments of great beauty. In the house of the lawyer, Messer Francesco Sonica, a gossip of Titian, is the portrait of that Messer Francesco by the hand of our artist, with a large picture, representing the Madonna in the Flight to Egypt; she appears to have just descended from the Ass, and has seated herself on a stone by the wayside; St. Joseph stands near, as does St. John, a little child who is offering to the Saviour the flowers gathered by an angel from the branches of a tree which is in a wood, wherein are numerous animals; the ass is browsing near. This picture, a very graceful one, has been placed by the Signor Francesco in a palace which he has built near Santa Justina in Padua.† [115]

For the Florentine Monsignore Giovanni della Casa, a man illustrious for learning as well as birth, our artist painted a beautiful Portrait of a gentlewoman whom Della Casa loved when he was in Venice,[116] and by whom the mas-

of a second portrait by Titian. A portrait in profile by Titian, belonging to the Nardi of Venice, is claimed as a portrait of Bembo; it is greatly injured.

* This is a mistranslation; read, "One sees by the same hand, Messer Niccolò Zono; Rossa, the wife of the Grand Turk," etc. (*Si di mano del Medesimo, Messer Niccolò Zono*, etc.)

† The translator has here omitted a sentence, *i.e.*, "In the house of a gentleman of the Pisani family, near San Marco, is, by the hand of Titian, the portrait of a gentlewoman which is a marvel." *In casa d'un gentiluomo de' Pisani, appresso San Marco è di mano di Tiziano il ritratto d'una gentildonna; che è cosa maravigliosa.*

[113] The portrait of Girolamo Fracastoro, an eminent physician and Latin poet, is lost.

[114] The portrait of Cardinal Accosti is lost.

[115] According to Ridolfi, Titian painted a Venus for this Francesco Assonica.

[116] Only an engraving made by Canale in 1560 remains of this portrait of

ter was honoured for the same, with the exquisite sonnet which begins thus :—

*Ben veggo io, Tiziano, in forme nuove*
*L'idolo mio, che i begli occhi apre e gira.*

As also with that which follows it.

This admirable painter likewise sent a picture of the Last Supper to the Catholic King; this work, which was seven braccia long,[117] was a performance of extraordinary beauty; and besides these, with many others of minor importance which we omit, he has still in his house, among numerous sketches and pictures commenced, the Martyrdom of San Lorenzo, of size similar to the above, which he also proposes to send to the Catholic King.[118] He has likewise a large canvas exhibiting Christ on the Cross, the thieves on each side, and the executioners beneath, which he is painting for Messer Giovanni d'Arna * ; and a picture which was begun for the Doge Grimani, father of the Patriarch of Aquileia.[119] For the Hall of the Great Palace

Elizabetta Quirini, sister to Girolamo, Patriarch of Venice. She was celebrated in the sonnets of Della Casa.

* Giovanni Danna ?

[117] This *Cenacolo* being too large for the refectory in the Escurial was cut down most barbarously by the monks, and has also been nearly spoiled by repainting. A *Cena* painted by Titian for the refectory of SS. Giovanni e Paolo had been burned in 1571 in a fire lighted by drunken German soldiers.

[118] There is a Martyrdom of St. Lawrence in the chapel of the Escurial (for the larger Martyrdom in the Jesuit church of Venice see note 106). The letters of Garcia Hernandez to Philip and to Antonio Perez, regarding this picture and the *Cena*, are curious as revealing the unwillingness of Philip's agents to pay Titian for work ordered by them and executed to the king's satisfaction, and as showing Titian's own temporizing caused by this constant struggle to obtain money. The picture of the Martyrdom, like the gridiron-shaped Escurial itself, was intended to commemorate the victory which Egmont and Horn gained for Philip at St. Quentin.

[119] This large picture, ordered 1555, which is in the Ducal Palace, where it is generally called *La Fede*, is in the *Sala delle quattro porte*, and represents Antonio Grimani kneeling at the feet of Faith. It was left unfinished by Titian, and was completed by pupils. Boschini says that Marco Vecelli added the side figures. According to the *Anonimo* the picture was originally placed in the *Anti-Collegio*, and Zanetti says that after the fire of

La P

of Brescia, Titian has commenced three large pictures, which are to form part of the decorations of the ceiling, as we have said when speaking of the Brescian painters, Cristofano and his brother.[120] He also began a picture many years since for Alfonso first, Duke of Ferrara, the subject is a nude figure of a woman bowing before the Goddess Minerva; there is besides another figure, and in the distance is the Sea, with Neptune in his Chariot; but the death of Alfonso, according to whose fancy the work was composed, caused the picture to remain incomplete, and it is still in Titian's hands.[121]

Another work, brought to a state of considerable advancement, but not finished, is Our Saviour,* appearing to Mary Magdalen in the Garden;[122] the figures are of the size of life, as are those of another, of equal size where Christ is placed in the Sepulchre, while the Madonna and the other Maries stand around:[123] and among other good things to be seen in his house is a picture of the Madonna, with, as it is said, a portrait of himself, finished four years since, and which is very beautiful and natural. There is, likewise, a figure of San Paolo reading, a half-length figure, which is so fine that it may well be that same which was filled with the Holy Spirit. All these works, with many others which I omit, to avoid prolixity, have been executed up to the present age of our artist, which is above seventy-

1577 it was put in its present position, where the necessity for filling a wider space forced Vecelli to add the side figures. It is much restored; there is a study for it in England.

* Intercalate the words "in the form of a gardener" (*in forma d'ortolano*).

[120] They were destroyed by fire, August 20, 1565. Titian wrote to the Brescian magistrates who had ordered this work for their town-hall, acknowledging the receipt from them of the list of subjects selected.

[121] An allegory answering to this description is in the Doria Palace at Rome. Another similar subject, called Spain succoring Religion, is in the Museum of Madrid. See M. Lafenestre, *Le Titien*, p. 289.

[122] This may possibly be the Magdalen in the National Gallery, London, but the size of the figures in the picture does not tally with Vasari's description.

[123] For the Entombment by Titian see note 103.

six years. Titian has been always healthy and happy; he has been favoured beyond the lot of most men, and has received from Heaven only favours and blessings. In his house he has been visited by whatever Princes, Literati, or men of distinction have gone to or dwelt in Venice; for, to say nothing of his excellence in art he has always distinguished himself by courtesy, goodness, and rectitude.

Titian has had some rivals in Venice,[124] but not of any great ability, wherefore he has easily overcome them by the superiority of his art; while he has also rendered himself acceptable to the gentlemen of the city. He has gained a fair amount of wealth,[125] his labours having always been well paid; and it would have been well if he had worked for his amusement alone during these latter years, that he might not have diminished the reputation gained in his best days by works of inferior merit, performed at a period of life when nature tends inevitably to decline, and consequent imperfection.

In the year 1566, when Vasari, the writer of the present History, was at Venice, he went to visit Titian, as one who was his friend, and found him, although then very old, still with the pencil in his hand and painting busily.[126] Great pleasure had Vasari in beholding his works and in conversing with the master. Titian then made known to Giorgio, Messer Gian Maria Verdezotti, a young Venetian gentleman

[124] Titian, besides being great enough to stand first in the Venetian school, was fortunate also as regarded the time at which he worked. He came at a moment when Bellini and Carpaccio were about to pass away; Giorgione, his sole rival of his own age, died young; Veronese and Tintoretto were still children when Vecellio came to Venice.

[125] The ordinary sources of revenue being insufficient to defray the expenses of fortifications, armies, and navies, a tax was imposed upon all the inhabitants of Venice with the exception of Titian, who was released from all obligation to pay it, "out of regard for his rare excellence."

[126] Among other pictures not mentioned by Vasari are several so-called portraits of Catarina Cornaro, Queen of Cyprus and "Daughter of the Republic," some of which are attributed to Titian; the most famous is in the Uffizi; it is striking from pose and costume, and in type resembles the *Bella*, but if the picture is a genuine Titian it has been repainted until no trace of his coloring remains, as it is very cold and disagreeable in tone.

of great ability, the friend of Titian, and a man well versed in design as well as a tolerable colourist, which he has proved by some very beautiful Landscapes from his own hand. This youth, by whom Titian is loved and revered as a father, has two figures painted in oil within two niches by that artist, an Apollo and a Diana that is to say.

It may be affirmed then, that Titian, having adorned Venice, or rather all Italy, and other parts of the world, with excellent paintings,[127] well merits to be loved and respected by artists, and in many things to be admired and imitated also, as one who has produced, and is producing, works of infinite merit; nay, such as must endure while the memory of illustrious men shall remain.[128] . . . .

I must not here omit to mention that the art of Mosaic, almost abandoned in all other places, is encouraged and kept in life by the most Serene Senate of Venice, and of this

[127] Vasari's notice of Titian's works apparently ends with his own visit to Venice in 1566. In 1567 Titian wrote to the Duke of Urbino concerning a Madonna sent him, and to Cardinal Farnese regarding the sending of a Magdalen and of a Peter Martyr. Later he sent a St. Catherine (which has disappeared, as has also the Peter Martyr). Frescoes at Pieve di Cadore by Titian's pupils from his designs followed, and the St. Lawrence was sent to Philip II., as well as a nude Venus. Next the allegories for the Brescian town-hall were finished, litigation regarding their price ensued, and they perished by fire in 1575. In 1571 Titian wrote to Philip that for eighteen years he had not received one *quattrino* for the paintings which he had forwarded to Spain. October 7, 1571, the great victory of Lepanto took place and Philip ordered Titian to paint a picture of the king presenting his infant son to the Madonna, while a fettered Turk furnished the allusion to the recent victory. The picture is in Madrid, and a Christ Crowned with Thorns, painted nearly at the same time, is at Munich; this picture was presented by Titian to Tintoretto at the request of the latter, who placed the work in his own studio. This same subject, with certain variations, exists also at the Louvre. In June, 1574, Henri III. of France, passing through Venice, where he was the guest of the Republic, visited Titian, then hale, active, and ninety-seven years old. In the same year the painter sent to Philip an itemized reminder, a list of fourteen pictures, of which exactly seven are sacred subjects, and seven are profane; these were the unpaid pictures, and to them the painter adds the remark, "with many others which I do not remember." On February 27, 1576, in his ninety-ninth year, Titian writes for the last time to the king, asking again for the payment which never came.

[128] A passage upon Paris Bordone is here omitted.

Titian has been the principal cause;[129] seeing that so far as in him lies[130] he has ever laboured to promote the exercise thereof, and to procure respectable remuneration for those who practise the art.[131] Various works have thus been undertaken in the Church of San Marco, the old Mosaics having been almost wholly restored, and this mode of delineation being now brought to all the perfection of which it is susceptible, exhibits consequently a very different aspect from that displayed in Florence and Rome, at the time of Giotto, Alesso Baldovinetti, the Ghirlandai, or the Miniaturist Gherardo. All that has been done in Venice has been executed after the designs of Titian and other excellent painters, who have made coloured Cartoons for the same; thus the works are brought to perfection, as may be seen in the portico of San Marco, where there is a Judgment of Solomon, so beautiful that it could scarcely be executed more delicately with the pencil and colour. In the same place is the Genealogical Tree of Our Lady, by Ludovico Rosso; the Sibyls and Prophets are admirably represented in this work, which is carefully conjoined, and displays excellent relief. But in the art of Mosaic there are none who have distinguished themselves more highly in our times than have Valerio and Vincenzio Zuccheri, natives of Treviso, many stories by whom may be seen in San Marco; those from the Apocalypse may more particularly be specified: in this work the four Evangelists, under the form of various animals, are seen to surround the Throne of God: the Seven

[129] Although some of these late mosaics are as pictures fine compositions, they are as mosaics infinitely inferior to those executed by the Byzantines and by the Venetians of the early centuries.

[130] Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle have justly remarked that notwithstanding the very large number of Titian's letters which we possess, the insight which we gain of his character is much less than might be expected—most of his letters are on business.

[131] Among Titian's pupils or followers were Tintoretto, Andrea Schiavone, Paris Bordone, Savoldo, Nadalino, Polidoro Veneziano, Baldrini, Maganza, Niccolà Frangipani, Santo Zago, Girolamo da Treviso, Cristoforo Rosa, Bonifazio, Il Moretto, Preterazzano, Mazza, Mario Verdizzoti, Francesco Bassano, Palma Giovine, as well as some Flemings and Spaniards. See M. Lafenestre, *Le Titien*, p. 231.

Candlesticks, and other things, are also represented so admirably well, that to him who looks at them from below, they appear to be paintings in oil. There are besides numerous small pictures by those artists, and these are filled with figures which look—I do not say like paintings only—but like miniatures, and yet they are made of stones joined together. There are portraits, moreover, of various personages; the Emperor Charles V. that is to say, with Ferdinand his brother, who succeeded him in the Empire, Maximilian, son of Ferdinand and now Emperor, the most Illustrious Cardinal Bembo, the glory of our age, and the Magnifico . . . all executed so carefully, with so much harmony, so admirable a distribution of light and shadow, and such exquisite tints of the carnations (to say nothing of other qualities), that no better or more perfect works of the kind could possibly be conceived.[132] [133] [134]

[132] In 1576 Titian bought a place of burial in the Frari Church for the price of a *Pietà*, which he was to have added to those two crowning glories of Venetian decorative art, the Assumption and the Madonna of Cà Pesaro, that already decorated the church. A quarrel, however, having occurred between the monks and the painter, the latter willed that he should be buried in the Pieve of Cadore. The grand canvas of the *Pietà*, almost a monochrome, is in a way one of the most powerful pictures which the wonderful century-old painter created; it now stands in the Accademia, poignant in its impression and pathetic in its suggestiveness, Palma Giovine having "reverently completed and dedicated to God what Titian left unfinished."

[133] On August 27, 1576, Titian died of the plague in the midst of a stricken city at his house of Biri Grande. The laws established to guard against contagion were set aside for the great citizen, who was followed by the canons of St. Mark to his grave in the Frari.

[134] Titian stands at the head of the school of Venice as the typical representative of its strength and weakness. Color is the marking element of Venetian painting just as form is that which dominates in Florentine art, and because Titian was the chief of a color-school it has become the custom to call him the greatest colorist who ever lived. Such characterization is not critical; Titian was the foremost artist of Venice, not because he was her greatest master of color, but because no other Venetian painter possessed *so many* of the essential qualities of great art in so full a measure. Rounded completeness is what stamps Titian as a master. Other painters may have equalled him in each single quality; Veronese painted as easily and freely, but had not his dramatic instinct; Tintoretto equalled his *chiaro-scuro*, but had not his even excellence of execution; Velasquez had as much or more of breadth, but had not his splendor of color; Rubens's folk are as healthy and

Bartolommeo Bozzato has also worked on the Church of San Marco: he is the rival of the Zuccheri, and has acquitted himself in a sufficiently praiseworthy manner; but that which has most effectually contributed to the success of all these artists, has without doubt been the superintend-

robust, but not as grand or beautiful; Vandyck's people are as elegant as those in Titian's most courtly portraits, but they are not as forceful and vital. Titian united all the qualities in an adequate degree; if ever an artistic equipment was *teres atque rotundus*, it was that of Tiziano Vecellio, but above all else towered the artist's personality, his sense of serene grandeur informing his entire technical achievement, and setting him among the greatest artists who have lived in modern times. This grand feeling is not awful, as with Michelangelo, or profoundly poignant, as with Rembrandt, it partakes rather of stately nobility, such as belonged to "the most serene Republic" whose son he was, but it is always present in his work, and it saves him even when he is careless and unequal to himself.

In taking his qualities—color, drawing, handling, movement, and composition—into consideration, color comes first by right of his school, and here immediately we see that to call him the greatest of colorists is arbitrary. Veronese, in large compositions, more than equalled him in color-splendor; Giorgione at least equalled his color-depth, and no color could be more serenely golden than that of Bellini's Frari Madonna; but Titian had at once enough of golden strength, enough of depth, enough of *éclat;* his color, profound and powerful *per se*, impresses us more than that of the others, because he brought more of other qualities to enforce it.

Another trite observation is that Titian was not a draughtsman; *il colorito di Tiziano, il disegno di Michelangelo*, wrote Tintoretto upon his studio wall, and truly Titian had not the science in drawing of the greatest Tuscans. For though Venetians did not lack knowledge nor Florentines feeling, the bent of the school by the Arno was scientific, that of the school in the lagoons was temperamental, and no Venetian (Paolo Caliari was a landsman of Verona) could construct as well as many a Florentine. Titian's hands often look as if puffed and swollen; the cranial construction, the outline of cheek-bone and temple of his Laura Dianti, his Flora, his Isabella d' Este, is lacking in subtility, is almost wooden in spite of the beauty of his sitter, and one knows that the fault was in the artist, not in the model. Again, the great painter was so intent upon his effect that he sometimes (not in his best work) sacrificed construction, and ceased to be artistically complete. But when he chose he drew well; his Peter Martyr, his Pesaro Madonna, are adequate in *all* respects, and unequalled in *many* respects.

Color had been the gift of the Byzantines to the earliest Venetians, but with Giorgione and Titian a new element entered into Italian painting—the element of freedom and robustness in the handling of pigment. In the fifteenth century each different portion of a picture was lovingly caressed for its own sake; in the sixteenth, detail was wholly subordinated to general effect, the free, sweeping, rapid handling of Titian and Veronese compelled the

ence of Titian, with the designs prepared for these Mosaics by his hand. In addition to the above-mentioned and others, who have been disciples of Titian, there was besides a certain Girolamo, of whom I know no other name than Girolamo di Tiziano.

admiration of Vasari in spite of his Tuscan training, and changed the face of art; many subtilities of handling have been added in later times, but no painting could be freer or simpler than that of Veronese's Cana, of some of Titian's portraits; such work prepared the way for Rubens, Rembrandt, and Velasquez.

When we consider the quality of movement in pictures it must be admitted that Titian preferred a grand tranquillity, but since he was essentially dramatic in his feeling, he could always suit the liveliest movement, as with his little Loves of the Prado, or violent movement, as with his Peter Martyr, to his dramatic situation. In the latter picture his figures have been called Michelangelesque; it is certain that the great Tuscan has given an impulse, but these figures are not in the least like Michelangelo's; they, like their brawny, tawny, striding brothers of the Salute ceilings, are intensely Titianesque.

In composition he was unequal; when at his best he was magnificent. He could be scenic without being theatrical, and in his Presentation and his Pesaro Madonna he set the stage for Veronese to develop his pageants upon. And in his best work Titian was a composer in the very highest sense of the word, for he made *everything*, as in his Entombment, play its part in the harmony, line, mass, color, light, and landscape. But he was uneven in composition; if you take away the essential Venetian quality of color from the Assumption, the Pesaro Madonna, the Entombment, they still remain fine in black and white; subjected to a similar process some of Titian's pictures seem confused heaps of figures; the Ariadne and Bacchus, for instance, or the *Ecce Homo* of Vienna, appear disjointed and carelessly comprehended as compositions.

With Giorgione and Titian modern landscape grew into being. Pure and noble backgrounds had been seen in the work of Perugino and of the Umbrians, but here, in the pictures by the men who came from the mountain country between the Alps and the sea, there was a new expansion of Nature, which began, too, in such pictures as the Entombment to play a dramatic part, and to emphasize the human passions expressed by the figures. Passion was relegated by Titian wholly to his great compositions; this creator of an army of portraits was not a psychologist like Lotto; his portraits are almost too magnificently serene to seem fully characterized; they are all lords and ladies, for the "Count Palatine," and "Knight of the Golden Spur," was a true court painter; nevertheless some of his people are so real that we seem to have known them personally, and such masterpieces as *L'Homme au Gant* and more than one other may rank with any that have been painted. With his qualities and his failings Titian incarnates his school; the musical simile comes instinctively in thinking of Venetian art, and in the music of the Adriatic city, Titian's is that of the organ, rounded, sonorous, deep, combining all tones in full-chorded harmony.

# JACOPO SANSOVINO, SCULPTOR AND ARCHITECT

[Born 1486; died 1570.]

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—Temanza, *Vita di Jacopo Sansovino*, Venice, 1752; *Sagredo, di Jacopo Sansovino atti dell' Accademia Veneta delle Belle Arti*, Venice, 1830. Schoenfeld, *Andrea Sansovino und seine Schule*, Stuttgart, 1881. Émile Molinier, *Vénise*, Paris, 1889. The buildings and interior decoration of Sansovino may be studied in many sumptuous illustrated works, such as Ongania's magnificent folio *San Marco*, his *Calle e Canali*, in Cicognara and Selvatico among the old, in Schütz and Paoletti among recent works.

THE family of the Tatti has its records in the communal books of Florence, and that from so early a period as the year 1300;[1] but the house took its origin from Lucca,[2] one of the most noble cities of Tuscany; always remarkable for active and honourable men: this house of Tatti was most especially favoured by that of Medici, and from the Tatti family descended that Jacopo of whom we are now to write. He was the son of an Antonio, a very estimable person, and of Francesca his wife, who gave birth to the child in the month of January, 1477.[3] In his first

[1] Vasari did not include the life of Sansovino in his first edition. In the second edition of 1568 (published before the death of Jacopo Tatti) his life is given, but is necessarily incomplete. In 1570, the year of Sansovino's death, Vasari published a *separate* and amplified life of the artist, which is the one given here. A few copies of it were published and Bottari did not know of its existence; fortunately Jacopo Morelli came upon a copy of it and reprinted it in Venice in 1789.

[2] Milanesi says (VII., p. 485, note 2) that the Tatti family came from Poggibonsi, not Lucca, as stated by Vasari.

[3] According to the baptismal registers of Florence, Jacopo was born in 1486; his full name was Jacopo d'Antonio di Jacopo Tatti, or del Tatta; his father was a mattress-maker. Temanza and others have believed that Sansovino was born in 1479, but documents have proved that 1486 was the year of his birth.

years the boy was sent, as is usual, to acquire the rudiments of learning, wherein he displayed much intelligence: he soon began to study drawing of himself, and gave evidence, in a certain sort, that nature had disposed him to the study of design rather than that of letters, since he went very reluctantly to school, and was most unwilling to undertake the difficult acquirement of grammar.

His mother, whom he strongly resembled, perceiving this, and desiring to aid his genius, caused him to be secretly taught drawing, with the intention of making him a sculptor, perhaps in emulation of the rising glory of Michelagnolo Buonarroti, then very young. She may, perhaps, have also thought it a favourable augury that the latter and her son Jacopo were both born in the same street, the Via Santa Maria namely, which is near the Via Ghibellina.[4] But the boy was meanwhile on the point of being devoted to trade, which he liked even less than grammar, and he opposed himself in such sort to this purpose, that his father ultimately permitted him to follow his own inclination.

At that time there had come to Florence the sculptor, Andrea Contucci, of Monte Sansovino, a place near Arezzo, much talked of in our days as the birthplace of Pope Julius III. Having acquired a great name in Spain as well as in Italy, Contucci was the best sculptor and architect, after Michelagnolo, then known to our Art: he was then occupied with the execution of two figures in marble;[5] and with him Jacopo was placed that he might study the art of the sculptor. Andrea soon perceived that the young man promised to become very eminent, and neglected no precaution calculated to render him worthy of being known as his disciple; he became much attached to him moreover,

[4] Michelangelo was not born in the Via Santa Maria, nor yet in Florence, but in Caprese. See the Life of Michelangelo, page 37 of the present volume. Vasari, in his first edition, says that Michelangelo was born in Florence. In his second edition he corrected the error, but allowed the mistake to creep into his life of Sansovino.

[5] The figures over one of the doors of San Giovanni in Florence, which are still *in situ*.

and being as much loved by Jacopo in return, Contucci taught the youth with much affection, and it was thus soon believed that the disciple would ultimately equal his master, nay perhaps surpass him. The attachment of these two was indeed of such a character that being almost like father and son, Jacopo was no longer called De' Tatti, but Sansovino, and as he was then named, so is he now and ever will be called.

When Jacopo began to exercise his art he was so powerfully aided by Nature, that although he was not particularly studious, nor very diligent in his work, yet in whatever he did there was a grace and facility, with a certain ease, which was very pleasing to the eyes of the artists, seeing that every draught, sketch, or outline of his, displayed a boldness and animation which it has been given to but few among the sculptors to possess. The intercourse and friendship subsisting in their childhood between Jacopo and Andrea del Sarto, was also very useful to them both; pursuing the same manner in design, they exhibited a similar grace in execution, the one in painting, the other in sculpture; and as they frequently conferred together on the difficulties of Art, Jacopo meanwhile making models for Andrea, they assisted each other greatly. And that this is true we have proof in the picture of San Francesco, executed for the Nuns of the Via Pentolini, and in a San Giovanni Evangelista,[6] which was taken from an exquisite mould in *terra*, which Sansovino made in those days, in competition with Baccio da Montelupo.

For it chanced that at this time the Guild of Porta Santa Maria was about to have a statue in bronze, cast for a niche of Or San Michele, which is opposite to the Wool-Shearers: but although Jacopo's model was the more beautiful, yet Montelupo, as being an older master, obtained the commission. This model, which is a most exquisite one, is now in possession of the heirs of Nanni Unghero. Sansovino

[6] This was the figure of St. John in Andrea del Sarto's Madonna of the Harpies, now in the Tribune of the Uffizi.

was then the friend of Nanni, for whom he prepared the large models in clay, of Angels in the form of children, with one for a figure of San Niccolò, of Tolentino, which were afterwards carved in wood, with the aid of Sansovino; all these figures being of the size of life. They were placed in the Chapel of San Niccolò, in the Church of Santo Spirito.

Becoming known, by the productions here enumerated, to all the Florentine artists, and being considered a young man of great genius and excellent character, Jacopo, to his infinite delight, was taken to Rome by Giuliano da San Gallo, architect of Pope Julius II., when the statues of the Belvedere attracting him beyond measure, he set himself to copy the same. Now Bramante, who was also architect to Pope Julius, holding the first place, and having rooms in the Belvedere, chanced to see the designs of Jacopo, with a nude figure of clay, in a recumbent attitude, holding a vase for ink, which he had also made; and these things pleased him so much that he began to favour the youth, and ordered him to make a large copy in wax, of the Laocoon, which he was also having copied by other artists, intending to cast it in bronze.[7] These artists were Zaccheria Zacchi,[8] of Volterra, the Spaniard, Alonzo Berughetta, and Vecchio,[9] of Bologna. When all had completed their work, Bramante showed the models to Raffaello Sanzio of Urbino, inquiring of him which he thought the best. It was then judged by Raffaello that Sansovino had greatly surpassed the others; wherefore, by the advice of Domenico, Cardinal Grimani, Bramante was commanded to have the model of Jacopo cast in bronze. The mould was prepared accordingly, and the metal, being cast, succeeded to perfection; being then polished, the group was given to the Cardinal,

[7] Aretino had Sansovino make a small plaster copy of the Laocöon in 1525 to give to the Marquis of Mantua.

[8] According to Temanza this artist was called Zari; the Giunti edition of Vasari prints the name as Zachi and Zazii.

[9] Il Vecchio was Domenico Aimo, called Il Varignana; see Milanesi, VII., p. 489, note 2.

who valued it all his life no less than the antique, and at his death he bequeathed it as a work of great importance to the most Serene Signoria of Venice, by whom, after it had been kept for some years in the Hall of the Council of Ten, it was finally given to the Cardinal of Lorraine, who took it to France, in the year 1534. While Sansovino was thus daily acquiring reputation in Rome, Giuliano da San Gallo, who had kept him in his own house in the Borgo Vecchio, fell ill, and leaving Rome, was taken in a litter to Florence, for change of air. Thereupon Bramante found a dwelling for Jacopo, still in the Borgo Vecchio ; but in the Palace of Domenico della Rovere, Cardinal of San Clemente, where Pietro Perugino was at that time lodging, he being engaged with the painting of a ceiling, for Pope Julius, in a room of the Torre Borgia.

There, Pietro having remarked the fine manner of Sansovino, caused him to prepare numerous models in wax for his use ; among the rest a Deposition from the Cross, in full relief, with many figures, the ladders used for the deposition, and other things ; a very beautiful work it was. All these models were afterwards collected by Messer Giovanni Gaddi, and they are now in his house on the Piazza of the Madonna in Florence.[10] Sansovino then became known to the Cortonese painter, Maestro Luca Signorelli ; to Bramantino da Milano ; Bernardino Pinturicchio ; Cesare Cesariano, who was at that time in high repute for his Commentaries on Vitruvius ; and to many other persons of genius and renown flourishing at that period. Bramante then desired that Sansovino should be presented to Pope Julius, and commissioned him to restore certain works of antiquity, which he did with so much care and grace that His Holiness, and all who beheld them, considered it impossible that they could have been done better.

Stimulated by the praises he received, and eager to sur-

[10] This model was sold from Casa Gaddi in 1766 to Hugford, an English painter, then to one Gigli, who sold it to the South Kensington Museum. See J. C. Robinson's Catalogue of Italian Sculpture, pp. 159–162.

pass his previous performances, Sansovino then devoted himself so zealously to his studies that, being of a somewhat delicate constitution, he became seriously ill, and was compelled to return to Florence for the saving of his life; happily, however, his native air, the aid of youth, and the cares of his physicians, quickly restored him to health. Now, Messer Piero Pitti was then desirous of having a Madonna in marble executed for that front of the Mercato Nuovo, in Florence, where the clock is, and as there were many able young artists as well as old masters then in Florence, he thought the work ought to be given to him who should make the best model. He consequently had one prepared by Baccio da Montelupo, another by Zaccheria Zacchi, of Volterra, who had also returned that same year to Florence, with one by Baccio Bandinelli, and a fourth by Sansovino. They were then compared; when Lorenzo Credi, an excellent painter as well as a man of much judgment and goodness, declared the honour and the commission to belong of right to Sansovino, an opinion wherein the other judges, artists, and all who understood the matter fully concurred.

But although the work was adjudged to him accordingly, the procuring and bringing down the marbles were so much delayed by the envy and malicious contrivances of Averardo da Filicaja, who greatly favoured Bandinello and detested Sansovino; that the latter, in consideration of these delays, was ordered meanwhile to execute one of the large figures of the Apostles in marble, which were to be placed in the Church of Santa Maria del Fiore. He therefore made the model of a San Jacopo[11] (of which, when it was finished, Messer Bindo Altoviti took possession); and, working with all diligence, he conducted the Statue very successfully to completion. An admirable figure it is, showing in every part the patient study with which it has been executed; the arms and hands are clearly and finely detached; the

[11] Ordered in 1511, and executed in 1513, it is *in situ*. It is an excellent work and is far more realistic than most of Sansovino's statues.

draperies are well arranged, and the whole is finished with so much art, and exhibits such perfect grace, that no better work in marble can be seen. And here Sansovino showed the method in which draperies should be executed, in such a manner as to detach them clearly from the figure, having treated these with so much delicacy, and rendered them so natural, that in some parts he has brought the marble to the subtlety of texture usual in the folds, edges, and hems of the real vestment, a work of great difficulty, and demanding much time, skill, and patience, if the attempt be to succeed in such sort as to exhibit the perfection of art. This statue remained in the House of Works, from the time when it was finished to the end of the year 1565, when it was placed in the Church of Santa Maria della Fiore, to do honour to the arrival of the Queen Joanna of Austria, wife of Don Francesco de' Medici, Prince of Florence and Siena. It is considered to be a work of extraordinary merit, as are the figures of the other Apostles, executed by different masters for that place, as we have related in their Lives.

At the same time Sansovino executed for Messer Giovanni Gaddi, a Venus on a Shell, in marble; this was a most beautiful figure, as was the model for the same, which was in the house of Messer Francesco Montevarchi, but was destroyed in the flood of 1558. Sansovino executed a Boy also for Giovanni Gaddi, with a Swan, which was as beautiful a work as could be made of marble; he did many other things for the same person, who still has these productions in his house. For Messer Bindo Altoviti he directed the construction of a most costly Chimney-piece, in macigno, finely carved by Benedetto da Rovezzano, and which was erected in his house at Florence, where Sansovino executed a Story in small figures with his own hand, as the Frieze of that chimney-piece; representing therein the God Vulcan and other heathen deities, all of great beauty. But most beautiful of all were two Boys placed on the summit of this work, and supporting the arms of the Altoviti family; but these

have been taken away by the Signor Don Luigi di Toledo (who now dwells in the house of Messer Bindo,) and have been placed on a Fountain in the Garden, which Don Luigi possesses behind the Servite Monastery.

Two other Children of extraordinary beauty, also in marble and by the hand of this master, are in the house of Giovan Francesco Ridolfi; these being likewise the supporters of an Escutcheon of Arms. The works here described caused Sansovino to be considered a most excellent and graceful artist by all Florence, and by every one connected with art; wherefore Giovanni Bartolini, having built a house * in the Gualfonda, requested him to execute a Bacchus in marble, represented by a youth the size of life; when, the model being made by Sansovino, was found to be entirely satisfactory,[12] and Giovanni having supplied him with the marble, he set to work with a good will, that gave wings both to his thoughts and hands. But the figure was not hastily done; on the contrary, he studied it with the most intense care, and to promote the perfection of the form, he set himself to copy the figure of a certain disciple of his, called Pippo del Fabbro, whom he kept standing naked the greater part of the day.† [13]

Having completed this statue, it was adjudged to be the best ever executed by a modern master, Sansovino having overcome a difficulty no longer attempted; one arm of the

* Read "having built a summer-house in his garden in the Gualfonda" (*avendo fatto murare nel suo giardino di Gualfonda una casotta*).

† Intercalate here "although it was in winter" (*ancor che fusse di verno*).

[12] The Bacchus of Sansovino (now in the Bargello), certainly one of the best things he ever did in sculpture, is at once elegant and surprisingly individual for a work of Sansovino. Yet, says Perkins, in his Historical Handbook of Italian Sculpture (p. 242), it is "less precious than a chip of marble from the workshop of a Donatello or a Desiderio."

[13] Poor Pippo del Fabbro (the Blacksmith's Joey) went mad either from overwork or from standing too long in the sun with his head uncovered. His insanity took the form of climbing into strange places, finding pedestals in a word, and there standing for an hour at a time in the pose of an apostle or saint or warrior, but most frequently in the pose of Sansovino's Bacchus, which he could never forget. Vasari told this story in the Giunti edition of his lives.

figure being fully detached and raised in the air, while a Tazza, cut from the same piece of marble, is held aloft in the hand, or rather, so delicate and subtle is the work, by the fingers, whereon it is so lightly poised, that they scarcely appear to touch it. The attitude of the figure is, besides, so well calculated for effect, as seen on all sides, it is so nicely balanced, and so admirably arranged; the form is so well proportioned, the limbs are so finely attached to the trunk, and the whole statue is so exquisitely finished, that while looking at, or even touching it, one would be more disposed to believe it the living flesh than a mere piece of stone. At a word, the renown this work has obtained is not in any way more than, or even equal to, its due; it was visited while Giovanni lived, with the utmost admiration, alike by natives and strangers; but Giovanni being dead, his brother Gherardo gave it to the Duke Cosimo, who keeps it in his apartments with other beautiful statues. For the same Giovanni, Sansovino made a Crucifix in wood, which is now in the house of the Bartolini family, with many works by the ancients and by Michelagnolo.

In the year 1514 rich preparations were to be made in Florence for the arrival of Leo X. in that city, when the Signoria and Giuliano de' Medici gave orders for triumphal arches of wood, which were to be constructed in various parts of the city. For many of these Sansovino made the designs; and, in company with Andrea del Sarto, he undertook to adorn the whole façade of Santa Maria del Fiore; this they decorated with statues, stories, and architectural ornaments in wood, after a manner which it would be well if we could have retained, instead of that in the Teutonic manner which we now have.[14] I say nothing of the canopies

[14] In spite of Vasari's catholicity, and in spite of the fact that a critical, was following a creative, period of Tuscan art, the biographer had not reached the point where a late Renaissance *façade* could seem to him out of place on Arnolfo's Church and beside Giotto's tower. Evidently Vasari would not have understood the passionate controversy of the "tricuspidal" and "basilical" factions of 1876, as to the completion of the *façade* of Santa Maria del Fiore.

in cloth, with which, on the festivals of San Giovanni and other solemnities, it has been customary to cover the Piazza of Santo Maria del Fiore and that of San Giovanni, having spoken of them sufficiently elsewhere, but confine myself to the remark, that beneath this canopy Sansovino decorated the façade with a triumphal arch of the Corinthian Order, double columns, rising on a great basement on every side, with large niches between them, wherein were figures of the Apostles in full relief. Above these were stories in mezzo-rilievo, having the appearance of bronze, the subjects taken from the Old Testament; some of them may still be seen in the house of the Lanfredini on the Lung' Arno. Over all were projecting architraves, friezes, and cornices, with varied and beautiful frontons. In the angles of the arches, and beneath them, in the thickness of the same, were beautiful stories painted in chiaro-scuro by Andrea del Sarto, and the whole work was such that when Pope Leo saw it, he declared it to be a pity that the front of the church, as erected by the German Arnolfo, had not been of similar character.

On the same occasion, Sansovino made a Horse, formed of clay and shearings of wool, which was erected on a pedestal of masonry; the animal was rearing, and beneath him lay a figure of nine braccia; this work also pleased the Pope greatly by its power and boldness, wherefore Sansovino was taken by Jacopo Salviati to kiss the feet of His Holiness, who received him very kindly. The Pontiff then returning to Florence after his conference with King Francis I. at Bologna, Sansovino received orders to construct a Triumphal Arch at the gate of San Gallo; and, not degenerating from his former self, he completed it as he had done the others, enriched with statues and pictures finely executed, that is to say, and beautiful to a marvel.

His Holiness having afterwards resolved that the façade of San Lorenzo should be constructed in marble, Sansovino, while Raffaello and Michelagnolo were expected from Rome, prepared a design for the same by order of the Pope, who, being pleased therewith, caused Baccio d'Agnolo to make

from it a model in wood, which was most beautiful ; Buonarroto had meanwhile prepared another, and was commanded to repair with Sansovino to Pietrasanta, where the two artists found marble in plenty ; but the difficulties of transport caused the loss of so much time that when they returned to Florence the Pope had gone back to Rome. They both followed him, however, with their models, each for himself ; but when Jacopo arrived, Michelagnolo was already showing his model to the Pope at the Torre Borgia ; and whereas the former had expected to receive the commission for a part of the statues, at least under Buonarroto, who had given him reason to expect as much, he found on arriving in Rome that Michelagnolo was determined to keep all for himself.[15] Nevertheless, and as he did not wish to have his journey for nothing, Sansovino resolved to remain in Rome for the study of architecture as well as sculpture. He then undertook the execution in marble of a Madonna with the Divine Child in her arms, for the Florentine Francesco Martelli ; this group, somewhat larger than life and admirably finished, was placed on an Altar within the principal door of the Church of Sant' Agostino, on the right of the entrance.[16] The plaster model for the work, Sansovino gave to the prior of the Salviati, who placed it in a chapel of his palace,

[15] Sansovino wrote Michelangelo a savage letter, in which he as much as declared that the latter was never known to speak well of any man. (See a fragment of the letter in Aurelio Gotti's *Vita di Michelangelo*, Vol. I., p. 136.) Sig. Gotti is indignant at Sansovino's conduct toward the "generous" and noble Michelangelo. Vasari, however, Buonarroti's reverential and loving friend, has shown again and again that Michelangelo was irritable and censorious. He seems to have had a noble heart, and was often generous in the highest sense, but had a quick temper and a sharp tongue, only too apt at wounding others.

[16] It is still *in situ*. This dignified Madonna, somewhat heavy, but surprisingly like a late Roman work, is covered with votive offerings, and sits loaded with ornaments, with braceleted arms and beringed fingers, the brown discolored marble backed against a wall shining with silver hearts and feet and hands, and her own foot, now worn away by kisses, sheathed in gilded metal. She is one of the strangest sights in Rome, and is by no means without beauty, or at least picturesqueness, in the yellow light of the lamps that burn before her.

beside the Piazza of San Petrò at the end of the Borgo Nuovo. No long time afterwards he made a Statue of San Jacopo in marble, four braccia high, for the Altar of a Chapel which Cardinal Alborense had built in the Church of the Spaniards in Rome; this also, which is in a very graceful attitude and exhibits infinite judgment, procured the artist a great increase of fame; and while he was yet engaged therewith, he received the commission to prepare plans and models for the Church of San Marcello, which belongs to the Servite Monks: this Church Sansovino afterwards erected, and a very beautiful structure it is.

Continuing to be employed in architecture, Sansovino next built a beautiful Loggia for Messer Marco Cosci; this is in the Flaminian Way,[17] on the road leading from Rome to the Pontemolle. For the "Brotherhood of the Crucified," which belongs to the Church of San Marcello, he made a Crucifix in wood, to be carried in procession, which is very graceful; and for Antonio Cardinal di Monte he commenced a large building at his Vigna outside Rome, near the Acqua Vergine. It may be also, that a Portrait of the elder Cardinal Monte, which is now over a door in the Palace of Signor Fabiano at Monte Sansovino, is by his hand. He built a commodious house for Messer Luigi Leoni, with a palace in Banchi, which belongs to the Gaddi family; this was afterwards purchased by Filippo Strozzi; it is handsome and richly decorated as well as very commodious.

Now in those days the Germans, Spaniards, and French had each built churches for themselves in Rome, wherein they were now performing the offices, when the Florentines, favoured by Leo X., requested permission also to erect a church. Orders being given by the Pope accordingly to Ludovico Capponi, who was Consul of the Florentines, it was resolved that a large Church, dedicated to St. John the

[17] Vasari, in the original editions, said incorrectly the Appian Way. The correction of the error was suggested by Bottari and adopted by later editors.

Baptist, should be constructed behind the Banchi, at the commencement of the Strada Julia on the shore of the Tiber; and this, whether for size, magnificence, cost, or beauty of design, was to surpass all the others. For that work Raffaelo da Urbino, Antonio da Sangallo, Baldassare da Siena, and Sansovino prepared designs in competition; and the Pope having seen all, declared that of Jacopo the best, he having made a tribune at each angle of the church, with one of larger size in the centre, resembling that in the plan which Sebastiano Serlio gives in the second book of his work on Architecture. In this opinion all the heads of the undertaking agreed with the Pope, Sansovino received many proofs of favour, and the foundations for a portion of the church, about twenty-two yards in length, were begun. But there was not space enough for the building, more especially as it was determined to have the front of the Church opposite to that of the houses in the Strada Julia; the builders were consequently obliged to impinge upon the stream of the Tiber to the extent of full fifteen braccia, which pleased many, all the more, because the display as well as cost was the greater: it was therefore commenced as I have said, and more than forty thousand crowns[18] was spent thereon, a sum for which they might have erected half the walls of the Church.

The works were proceeding rapidly, when Sansovino had a fall, which injured him so severely, that he determined to be taken to Florence, leaving the care of those foundations to Antonio da Sangallo. But no long time afterwards, the death of Pope Leo depriving the Florentines of so great a support and so splendid a Prince, caused the abandonment of the works, which remained suspended during the Pontificate of Adrian VI. Pope Clement afterwards succeeding, Sansovino was ordered to return, and the Church was recommenced, with the original designs. At the same time our artist undertook the sepulchral monuments of the Car-

[18] In the life of Antonio da San Gallo, p. 8, Vasari says 12,000. The amount given above is probably nearer the correct figure.

dinals of Aragon and Agen; he began to prepare the marbles, and made models for the figures; all Rome was indeed then being * in his hands, and works of the utmost importance came pouring in upon him from all sides: his merits had been acknowledged by three Pontiffs, Pope Leo in particular having given him a Knighthood of St. Peter, which he, fearing he should die in his sickness, had sold. But it now pleased God to punish that city, and abase the pride of the Romans; wherefore it was permitted, that on the 6th of May, 1527, Bourbon should come with his army, and all Rome should be sacked and given up to fire and sword.

This ruin, amidst which so many men of genius came to an evil end, compelled Sansovino, to his infinite loss, to depart from the city, and he took refuge in Venice, whence he proposed to repair to France, where he had been invited to enter the service of the King. But halting in Venice, to provide himself with necessaries, having been despoiled of all, the Doge Andrea Gritti, a true friend of distinguished men, was told that he was there and desired to see him; the rather as Cardinal Grimani had given him to understand that Sansovino would be just the person they wanted to restore the Cupolas of San Marco, which is the principal Church of the Venetians, seeing that they, having become very old, and being, moreover, weak in the basements, and not well put together, were cleft in many parts, and threatened with absolute ruin. The Doge therefore caused our artist to be called, and receiving him very favourably, after many conversations, he gave him to know that he wished, or rather entreated, him to find a remedy for this misfortune, which Sansovino promised to do. Commencing the work accordingly, he raised scaffoldings within the Cupola, and, after much toil, contrived to secure the whole structure, by means of massive beams, well and firmly chained together by strong iron bands; he then added curtains of

* A superfluous verb has crept into Mrs. Foster's translation; the original reads *aveva gia Roma in poter suo* literally he had all Rome in his power; that is to say, had everything his own way.

wood-work to the whole fabric, within and without, which done, he raised new walls, refounding the piers by which the mass was supported, and so fortifying the entire building that its stability was assured for ever. All Venice stood amazed at his success, and the Doge was perfectly satisfied: nay, what was more to the purpose, that most illustrious Senate, convinced of his ability, appointed Jacopo Protomaster of the Signori Procuratori of San Marco[19] (the highest office conferred by the Signoria on its architects and engineers), assigning to him the house of his predecessor, who had just died, with a suitable stipend.

Having entered on his office, Sansovino began to fulfil the duties thereof with diligence; those connected with the books and accounts of expenditure, as well as with the building, giving his most earnest care to the details of that employment, which are very numerous, and displaying the most courteous consideration for the Senators. And not only did he devote himself zealously to whatever could promote the grandeur, beauty, and ornament of the Church, the Piazza, and the whole city, to an extent never before done by any man who had held his office; but by the ingenuity of his inventions, the promptitude of his actions, and the prudence of his administration, he lessened the outlay and improved the revenue, so that the Signoria was burdened with little if any expense. Among the ameliorations made by Jacopo, was the following:—In the year 1529, there were butchers' stalls between the two columns of the Piazza, with a number of small wooden booths, used for the vilest purposes, and a shame as well as deformity to the place, offending the dignity of the Palace and the Piazza, while they could not but disgust all strangers who made their entry into Venice, by the side of San Giorgio.

Sansovino, therefore, having convinced Andrea Gritti of the excellence of his plan, caused these booths and stalls to

[19] On April 1, 1529, with a salary of eighty ducats a year, which was gradually increased to two hundred ducats, to which salary was also added the use of a shop on the Piazza San Marco.

be removed ; he then erected the butchers' shops where they now are, and, adding to these certain stalls for the dealers in vegetables, he increased the revenues of the Procuranzia by seven hundred ducats yearly, while he beautified the Piazza and the city by the same act. No long time afterwards, he observed that by removing one house in the Merceria (near the clock, and on the way to the Rialto), which paid a rent of twenty-six ducats only, he could open a street into the Spadaria by which the value of the houses and shops all around would be much increased, he took down that house accordingly, thereby adding a hundred and fifty ducats to the income of the Procuranzia. He built the Hostelry of the Pellegrino, moreover, on the same site with another on the Campo Rusolo ; and these together brought in four hundred ducats. His buildings in the Pescaria and other parts of the city, houses as well as shops, and erected at various times, were also of the utmost utility ; and altogether the Procuranzia gained by means of Sansovino, an addition of no less than two thousand ducats per annum, so that they might well hold him in esteem.

At a subsequent period, our artist received orders from the Procurators, to commence the rich and beautiful Library, opposite to the Public Palace.[20] The orders of architecture, Doric and Corinthian, the fine carvings, columns, capitals, cornices, half-length figures, and other decorations, executed without any consideration for the amount of cost, all contribute to display an aggregate of beauty which renders the building a marvel.[21] The stucco work, the stories which

[20] In 1536.

[21] On the night of December 18, 1545, one of the arches of this building fell through ; the accident was occasioned by the ice which had accumulated during an exceptionally severe winter. Sansovino was imprisoned, and only released by the intercession of powerful friends, among whom were Don Diego Mendoza, Pietro Aretino, and Danese Cattaneo, the sculptor ; as it was he was heavily fined, though the Signoria eventually found various pretexts for restoring a good portion of the fine, thus by a truly Venetian policy of subterfuge they prepared at once a salve for the offended dignity of the artist and of the Board of Works.

decorate the Halls, the rich pavements, the staircases adorned with pictures (as has been related in the Life of Battista Franco), every part, at a word, is most admirable; to say nothing of the rich ornaments which give majesty and grandeur to the principal entrance; and all prove the vast ability of Sansovino.[22] These works caused a notable change in the mode of building at Venice; for whereas it was before the custom for houses and palaces to be erected all after one old fashion, without any variation, either on account of the difference in site, or for the sake of convenience; they now began to build with new designs, a better manner, and some attention to the ancient rule of Vitruvius, whether as regarded their public or private constructions.

But returning to the Library: the best judges, and those

[22] M. Müntz (*La Fin de la Renaissance*) calls this work of Sansovino "the Queen of all Libraries," offering "an inimitable mingling of relief and of opening, an ease (*souplesse*) and a harmony which defy analysis." Burckhardt (*Le Cicerone*, II., p. 240, edition of 1892) says of it that it is the "most beautiful profane edifice of Italy," and that up to the time of its erection "the whole Venetian Renaissance had been only the inheritress by hearsay of antiquity, if we compare it [the rest of the inheritance] with this unique work." The author feels that the city must never have tired of this richness and beauty, but adds that "the edifice is essentially only a magnificent decoration, such as Venetians loved." Given the task of building a library, something more characteristic, more expressive in design and proportion, might have been produced. Nor need the souvenir of Bramante have been evoked: "it would have been enough to remember Peruzzi, or the Palladian Basilica of Vicenza. For all that, it remains one of the most brilliant two-story galleries in the world, if not *the* most brilliant." For the Libreria see the very interesting passages, pp. 456–59, in Mr. Russell Sturgis's European Architecture, New York, 1896, and his remark that "the effect of elaborate sculpture upon a front is not sufficiently weighed by modern students." Mr. Sturgis adds that "those who have the opportunity to see a modern Gothic front in England, or a modern classic front in Paris, before and again after its carving has been executed, should note this important point. The mechanical and copied sculpture of many nineteenth century buildings has caused a certain reaction in some quarters in favor of design which shall be wholly independent of carving. This Venetian front of 1536 may join with the French portals of three hundred years before to declare that a building with sculpture belongs to a different and better class than a building without it." The author goes on (*op. cit.*, p. 459) to draw an interesting parallel between the possibilities of applied sculpture in Roman imperial times, and in the epoch of the Renaissance to the advantage of the later epoch.

who have visited many other parts of the world, declare it to be without an equal.[23]

Sansovino then built the Palace of Messer Giovanni Delfino.[24] It stands on the Grand Canal, beyond the Rialto, and opposite the Riva del Ferro: the cost of the fabric was thirty thousand ducats. The Palace of Messer Leonardo Moro, at San Girolamo, also of great cost, and much resembling a fortress, is in like manner by Sansovino, as is that of Messer Luigi de' Garzoni, which is thirty paces larger in every direction than the Exchange of the Germans; it lies without the city, at Ponte Casale that is, and has the convenience of water conducted through every part of the building, which is adorned with fine figures, by the hand of Sansovino. But more beautiful than all is the Palace of Messer Giorgio Cornaro,[25] on the Grand Canal: it surpasses all the others in majesty, grandeur, and convenience; nay, is reputed to be, perhaps, the most splendid residence in Italy.

Omitting the private buildings constructed by Sansovino, I restrict myself to recording that he also erected the Scuola and Brotherhood of the Misericordia,[26] at the cost of a hundred and thirty thousand ducats: an immense fabric it is, and, when completed, will be the most superb edifice in Italy. The Church of Francesco della Vigna, which belongs to the Barefooted Friars, is also the work of this artist, and a very great and important one; but the façade was by another master.[27] The Loggia of the Corinthian order

[23] The Signoria of Venice increased Sansovino's yearly salary from 80 ducats in 1529, to 200 ducats in 1544. They also paid his annual war-tax for him; the said tax being one imposed upon every Venetian, with the single exception of Titian, who was exempt.

[24] Now Palazzo Manin.

[25] The Corner (Cornaro) family obtained from this sumptuous palace the name "Corner della ca grande," the "Cornari of the great house." It was built in (1532), it is now the Prefecture.

[26] The Scuola della Misericordia was never finished, but still shows by what was begun that a most imposing building was contemplated. It was begun in 1508, from Leopardi's designs, continued by Pietro Lombardo, and taken up again by Sansovino in 1532.

[27] The *façade* is by Palladio; Sansovino's design for the *façade* is shown on

erected around the Campanile of San Marco, was of Sansovino's design: it has a rich decoration of columns, with four niches, wherein are four beautiful figures, in bronze, somewhat less than life: these also, with various figures and stories in basso-rilievo, are by the hand of Jacopo. This Loggia forms a beautiful basement to the Campanile, which is thirty-five feet wide on one of its fronts, and that is about the extent of Sansovino's work:[28] from the ground to the cornice, where are the windows of the belfry, the Campanile measures a hundred and sixty feet, and from the cornice to the corridor twenty-five. The dado above the cornice is twenty-eight and a half feet high, and from the platform of the corridor to the obelisk are sixty feet. On the obelisk is placed the small quadrangular basement, which supports the figure of the Angel, it stands six feet high; and the Angel, which turns with every wind, is ten feet high; so that the entire Bell-tower is two hundred and ninety-two feet high.

But one of the richest, most beautiful, and most imposing edifices of this master is the Zecca (Mint)[29] of Venice,

a medal, struck in 1534 by Andrea Spinelli. See Temanza, p. 220, cited by Milanesi, VII., p. 504, note 1.

[28] This Loggetta, begun by Sansovino in 1540, with its closely carved surface glittering with reflections from marble and bronze, looks when seen as it is against the broad, bare brickwork of the massive Campanile, like the Venice of Aretino beside the Venice of Dandolo; but it is refined as well as gay, and adds to the charm of that most charming of all *piazze*. Burckhardt says of it that it is rather a piece of plastic decoration than an architectural work. The small statues in the niches, of Apollo, Mercury, Minerva, and Peace, are elegant also; they are, as M. Müntz has said (*La Fin de la Renaissance*, p. 412), "*spirituelles*, picturesque, and even piquant in execution," and yet in looking at them one feels, in spite of their charm, that in sculpture the Renaissance has passed its prime, and that the decline has commenced. Sansovino's Sant' Jacopo of the cathedral of Florence is far more virile, far more closely allied to the figures of the fifteenth century.

[29] Burckhardt says of the Mint (Zecca) that its graver style was intended by Sansovino to contrast with that of the Library, and the author considers that the court of the building is perhaps more important than the *façade*. Mr. Russell Sturgis says of the Zecca (European Architecture, New York, 1896, pp. 454-56) that it is "a simple and workmanlike building" and that "It is hard to imagine a more satisfactory building for civil or domestic purposes in a style where variety is avoided and ornament forbidden."

constructed wholly of stone and iron, without a particle of wood, to secure it from the danger of fire. This is so commodiously arranged within, for the convenience of the many labourers working there, that in the whole world there is not so strong or so well-ordered a treasury as that of Venice. It is all in the Rustic order, and this, not having been previously adopted in that city, caused much admiration there. The Church of Santo Spirito, on the Lagunes, is also by Sansovino; a graceful and pleasing work.[30] The façade of San Gimignano, which gives splendour to the Piazza, with that of San Giuliano in the Merceria,[31] are both by that master, as is the rich Tomb of Prince Francesco Veniero.[32] He built the new Vaults at the Rialto likewise; and the design of these works is excellent, furnishing a commodious market to the peasantry and others who daily flock to Venice with their merchandise.

At the Misericordia, Sansovino undertook a new and remarkable construction for the Tiepoli; that family had a large Palace, with apartments of regal splendour, on the Canal, but being badly founded within the waters, it was feared that the edifice would in a few years fall to the ground. Sansovino reconstructed the foundations, however, with immense masses of stone, gave further support to the house itself with a marvellous system of piles, and the owners now inhabit their palace with the most perfect security. Nor have these numerous fabrics prevented our artist from daily producing, for his recreation, great and beautiful works in marble and bronze. Over the Holy Water Vase belonging to the monks of the Ca Grande, for example, he has placed a figure of San Giovanni Battista in marble, which is most beautiful, and justly extolled.[33] At

[30] San Spirito has been destroyed and San Gimignano as well, great changes having been made in the Piazza San Marco when the Library and the Procuratie were built.

[31] Perkins (Historical Handbook of Italian Sculpture) finds the statue of St. Thomas of Ravenna over the door of San Giuliano one of Sansovino's best works.

[32] He died in 1556; the tomb is in the church of San Salvadore.

[33] The statue of St. John the Baptist is in the church of the Frari.

the Chapel of the Santo, in Padua, moreover, there is a beautiful story in marble, representing a miracle of Sant' Antonio, by his hand: it is in mezzo-rilievo, and is greatly valued by the Paduans.[34]

For the entrance to the Palazzo of San Marco, Sansovino is now preparing two colossal figures of Neptune and Mars,[35] to signify the power of the Republic, both by land and water. They are seven braccia high, and promise to be very beautiful. He has executed a fine statue of Hercules, for the Duke of Ferrara; and in the Church of San Marco, there are six stories of mezzo-rilievo, in bronze, by his hand. They are one braccio high, and one and a half long: the subjects are taken from the Life of the Evangelist; they are to be placed around a pulpit, and are greatly admired for their variety.[36] Over the door of the same Church is a Madonna in marble, also by Jacopo; it is the size of life, and

[34] This relief, the subject of which is a "drowned girl restored to life by the intercession of the Saint," is not impressive in effect or good in execution, and Sansovino is far more remarkable as controller of the general scheme of the chapel than as sculptor. He is said to have superintended this general scheme, which, in spite of its richness, is at once magnificent and distinguished. The distinction of the color is especially noticeable, white marble carved here heavily, there delicately, and toned by age contrasts with the silver of a galaxy of swinging lamps, the lights of which are reflected from the bosses of the carving. Opposite the chapel, on the other side of the church, is the chapel of St. Felix, rich with mediæval frescoes, coloring, gilding, and painted scutcheons. Even in Italy it is hard to find a more picturesque artistic antithesis than is offered by these two chapels—Mediæval and Renaissance—of St. Felix and of *the* Saint (*il Santo*), Anthony of Padua.

[35] The Mars and Neptune are of the sort of figures that no one remembers as statues, they make no individual impression; one simply remembers that in that place there were two colossi, and one rather regrets the fact of their existence, for by their size they belittle much of the decoration about them. They are far better, however, than the objects which Bandinelli and Ammanati raised in Florence, and the place in which the figures of Sansovino stand is so beautiful that the spectator accepts the giants at least with resignation.

[36] There are also four statues of the Evangelists by Sansovino. Of the six bronze reliefs, the scenes from the life of St. Mark which are set in the walls of the choir of San Marco, M. Emile Molinier says, in his *Venise*, p. 92, "for the credit of the artist we had best pass them by in silence, as they have long been held the most mediocre production of Sansovino." The same author adds that Tiziano Annio aided Sansovino in his work upon these reliefs.

considered very beautiful. The bronze door of the Sacristy, divided into two parts, and adorned with Stories from the Life of Christ, admirably executed,[37] are in like manner by his hand; and over the Gate of the Arsenal he has erected a fine state of Our Lady in marble, with the Divine Child in her arms. All these works have not only adorned the city, but have daily increased the renown of Sansovino; they have furthermore caused him to receive frequent proofs of the estimation in which he is held by the Signoria, with gratifying marks of their liberality, while they have procured him the respect and admiration of artists, no work in sculpture or architecture being undertaken in his time at Venice without his advice and concurrence.

And well did Sansovino deserve to be held in esteem by the Venetians, artists, nobles, and people, seeing that by his knowledge and judgment the city has been, so to say, renewed, while he has taught her builders the true science of architecture, as I have said before. Three beautiful statues in stucco,[38] by Jacopo Sansovino, are now to be seen in the hands of his son. These are a Laocoon, a Venus standing upright, and a Madonna surrounded by Angels. They are the most beautiful figures to be found in Venice. This son has also sixty designs for Churches and other buildings, all of Sansovino's invention, and so beautiful that since the time of the ancients nothing better has been seen, or even imagined. I hear that their owner is about to give them to the world, and has already caused some portions of them to be engraved, together with plates of some of those

[37] The sacristy door obtains its principal interest from the portrait heads of Titian, Aretino, and Sansovino himself, which the artist has placed after the manner of the heads set by Ghiberti upon his second gate to the Baptistery of Florence. The inevitable comparison is greatly to the disadvantage of Sansovino, though the heads have much historical interest. (See the reproductions on pp. 71, 74, and 75 of M. Emile Molinier's book upon the Decorative Arts of Venice, *Venise ses arts décoratifs*, etc. Paris, 1889.)

[38] For details regarding these colored *stucchi*, several of which, in the Berlin Museum, are ascribed to Sansovino, see Dr. W. Bode, in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1888 (Vol. II., pp. 386, 387).

fine buildings which his father erected in various parts of Italy.

Thus constantly occupied, as we have said, in works public and private—out of the city, as well as in it (for strangers, also, had constant recourse to Sansovino, for models, designs of buildings, statues or advice: as, for example, the Dukes of Ferrara,* Mantua, and Urbino), this artist was nevertheless ever ready to oblige, and more especially was he devoted to the Signor Procuratori, by whom no work was ever undertaken, either in Venice or elsewhere, without his counsels and aid. Nay, they not unfrequently employed him for their friends and themselves without offering him any remuneration, he refusing no labour that could give them satisfaction. Sansovino was most especially beloved and valued by the Prince Gritti, a firm friend to men of genius, by Messer Vettorio Grimani, brother of the Cardinal, and by the Cavalier Messer Giovanni da Legge, who were all Procurators. Messer Marcantonio Giustiniano, who had known him in Rome, was also the friend of Jacopo: these great and illustrious men, well practised in the affairs of the world, and having full knowledge of our Arts, were all well aware of his value, and the esteem in which he deserved to be held; doing him justice, therefore, they declared, and all the city agreed with them, that the Procurazia never had had, and never would have, his equal. Nor were they unacquainted with the estimation in which he was held at Rome and in Florence, nay, throughout all Italy, by all great Princes and men of intellect; hence they were firmly persuaded that not only Sansovino himself, but his descendants also, would be duly honoured by that city for his extraordinary efforts and abilities.

Jacopo Sansovino, as to his person, was of the middle height, but rather slender than otherwise, and his carriage was remarkably upright; he was fair, with a red beard, and in his youth was of a goodly presence, wherefore he did

* Intercalate, "who had of him a colossal Hercules" (*che ebbe un Ercole in forma di gigante*).

not fail to be loved, and that by dames of no small importance. In his age he had an exceedingly venerable appearance; with his beautiful white beard, he still retained the carriage of his youth: he was strong and healthy even to his ninety-third year, and could see the smallest object, at whatever distance, without glasses, even then. When writing, he sat with his head up, not supporting himself in any manner, as it is usual for men to do. He liked to be handsomely dressed, and was singularly nice in his person. The society of ladies was acceptable to Sansovino, even to the extremity of age, and he always enjoyed conversing with or of them. He had not been particularly healthy in his youth, yet in his old age he suffered from no malady whatever, insomuch that, for a period of fifty years, he would never consult any physician even when he did feel himself indisposed. Nay, when he was once attacked by apoplexy, and that for the fourth time, in his eighty-fourth year too, he would still have nothing to do with physic, but cured himself by keeping in bed for two months, in a dark and well-warmed chamber. His digestion was so good that he could eat all things without distinction: during the summer he lived almost entirely on fruits, and in the very extremity of his age would frequently eat three cucumbers and half a lemon at one time.

With respect to the qualities of his mind, Sansovino was very prudent; he foresaw readily the coming events, and sagaciously compared the present with the past. Attentive to his duties, he shunned no labour in the fulfilment of the same, and never neglected his business for his pleasure. He spoke well and largely on such subjects as he understood, giving appropriate illustrations of his thoughts with infinite grace of manner. This rendered him acceptable to high and low alike, as well as to his own friends. In his greatest age his memory continued excellent; he remembered all the events of his childhood, and could minutely refer to the sack of Rome and all the other occurrences, fortunate or otherwise, of his youth and early manhood.

He was very courageous, and delighted from his boyhood in contending with those who were greater than himself, affirming that he who struggles with the great may become greater, but he who disputes with the little must become less. He esteemed honour above all else in the world, and was so upright a man of his word, that no temptation could induce him to break it, of which he gave frequent proof to his lords, who, for that as well as other qualities, considered him rather as a father or brother than as their agent or steward, honouring in him an excellence that was no pretence, but his true nature.

Sansovino was liberal to all, and so effectually devoted to his kin that he deprived himself of many enjoyments the better to aid them; yet he always lived honourably and with good credit, as a man looked up to by all. He sometimes permitted himself to be overcome by anger, which in him was an exceedingly violent passion, but one that soon passed over, and a few gentle words often sufficed to bring tears into his eyes. His love for his art was immense; nay, that the knowledge of sculpture might be the more widely diffused, Sansovino brought up numerous disciples, establishing what might almost be called a Seminary of that art in Italy.

Among those of his disciples who attained the most distinguished name, were the Florentines Niccolò Tribolo and Solosmeo; Danese Cattaneo of Cattaro, a Tuscan of great repute, not in sculpture only, but in poetry also; Girolamo of Ferrara, the Venetian Jacopo Colonna, Luco Lancia of Naples, Tiziano of Padua, Pietro da Salò, the Florentine Bartolommeo Ammannato, now Sculptor and Protomaster of the Grand Duke of Tuscany; and finally Alessandro Vittoria of Trent, who was admirable for his portraits in marble. These, with the Brescian Jacopo de' Medici, were all among his disciples; and they, renewing the memory of their master, have executed many honourable works in divers places.

Sansovino was much esteemed by princes, among others

by Alessandro de' Medici, Duke of Florence, who sought his advice when constructing the fortifications of that city. Duke Cosimo also, when Sansovino, in the year 1540, paid a visit to his native place for certain affairs of his own—Duke Cosimo, I say, not only requested his opinion in respect to those defences, but also endeavoured to fix the master in his own service, offering him a very large stipend with that view. On his return from Florence, moreover, the Duke Ercole of Ferrara, detained him for some time at his court, and made every effort to keep him at Ferrara; but Sansovino, accustomed to Venice, and finding himself much at his ease in that city, where he had spent the greater part of his life, would listen to none of these proposals, the rather as he greatly loved the Procuratori, and was much honoured by them.

He was in like manner invited to Rome by Pope Paul III., who wished him to undertake the care of San Pietro, in place of Antonio da San Gallo, and Monsignore della Casa, then Legate at Venice, did his best to prevail on our artist to consent, but it was all in vain; he declared that he would not exchange his life in a Republic for that under an absolute Prince. King Philip II. of Spain, also, when on his way to Germany, conferred many marks of favour on Sansovino, whom he saw in Peschiera. This master was exceedingly desirous of glory, and, to the end that his memory might survive him, he spent much of his property for others, greatly injuring his descendants thereby. The judges of Art affirm that, although yielding on the whole to Michelagnolo, yet Sansovino was the superior of that artist in certain points. In his draperies, his children, and the expression which he gave to his women, for example, Jacopo never had an equal. The draperies by his hand are, indeed, most delicately beautiful; finely folded, they preserve to perfection the distinction between the nude and draped portions of the form. His children are soft flexible figures with none of the muscular development proper only to adults; the little round legs and arms are truly of flesh,

and in nowise different to those of Nature herself. The faces of his women are sweet and lovely; so graceful withal, that none can be more so, as may be seen in certain figures of the Madonna, in those of Venus, and in others by his hand.

This master, so renowned in Sculpture, and so great in Architecture, had lived by the grace of God, who had endowed him with that ability which rendered him illustrious to the degree that we have described, up to the age of ninety-three years; when, feeling himself somewhat weary of body, he lay down in his bed to repose himself. He felt no kind of illness, and frequently proposed to rise and dress himself, as being in perfect health, but remaining thus for about six weeks he felt himself becoming weaker, and requested to have the Sacraments of the Church administered to him; this having been done, although he still expected to live some years, Sansovino departed on the 2nd of November,[39] 1570, and, notwithstanding that the years of his life had come to their end in the pure course of Nature, yet all Venice lamented his loss.

He left a son called Francesco, born in Rome in the year 1521, and who became a very learned man in Law as well as Letters. From this son Sansovino had three grandchildren, a boy called after his grandfather Jacopo, and two girls, one called Florence, who died early, to the infinite sorrow of Sansovino; and the other named Aurora. The remains of Jacopo Sansovino were borne with great honour to his own Chapel in San Gimignano, where his son placed a marble Statue, which had been executed by the great master himself, on his tomb.[40] The following epitaph was also

[39] It is believed that he died on November 27; see Milanesi, VII., p. 512, note 1. The Florentine Academy of Design, January 14, 1570 (o. s.), decreed that Sansovino's memory should be honored by commemorative statues, pictures, etc.

[40] When the Church of San Gimignano was demolished in 1807 Sansovino's bones were taken to San Maurizio, thence to the Oratory of the Seminario della Salute, where the monument was set up together with the bust by Alessandro Vittoria.

inscribed thereon, as the memorial of so much excellence :—

*Jacobo Sansovino Florentino P.* qui Romæ Julio II., Leoni X., Clementi VII., Pont. Max. Maxime gratos,† Venetiis Architecturæ Sculpturæque intermortuum decus. primus excitavit, quique a Senatu ob eximiam virtutem liberaliter honestatus summo civitatis mœrore decessit,* FRANCISCUS F, HOC MON. P. VIXIT ANN. XCIII. OB. V. CAL. DEC. MDLXX.

The Florentines in Venice also celebrated publicly the obsequies of Jacopo at the Church of the Frari,[41] [42] having

* This P. does not exist in Milanesi's rendering of the inscription.

† *Gratus* in Milanesi's edition.

[41] At this point the separate life, as published a second time by Vasari, ended in the general edition of 1568. Notices of Sansovino's scholars followed.

[42] If variety of experience were the best of art-masters no one in the history of the Renaissance could have had a better schooling than Jacopo Sansovino, whose life ends the list of masters included in these volumes. Taught by Florence and Venetianized by adoption this transplanted Tuscan left his native city just as the decadence set in, and before he had had time to stiffen into formality he was able to assimilate the Venetian freedom and gaiety and to enforce these qualities with the science of his native city. The Libreria of San Marco was the result. There is a peculiar fascination in realizing how great a portion of the Renaissance Jacopo Tatti was able to know in his long life of ninety-three years. He was already a grown man in the days when Raphael came to Florence from Perugia. He saw the growth and culmination of the period in which the *Pietà* and the Medici tombs were executed, the frescoes of the *Stanze* and of the Sistine were painted; he saw the whole harvest of the Tuscan Renaissance gathered in, and then, by almost unique good fortune, he turned to Venice, where the splendid later growth promised that the *Blüthezeit* should last for full forty years more.

A score of years before, Bramante, one of the greatest of architects, had come to Rome, bringing from Milan invention, an intense sense of the picturesque, and a lavish use of detail. In Rome, under the influence of antiquity he subordinated these qualities to unity of effect, and to the grandeur which comes with simplicity. Sansovino, passing from Rome to Venice, took with him Tuscan science, added to Florentine forms Venetian luxuriance and obtained results which can never cease to charm, but under the influence of his new environment he relaxed what little severity he had brought with him till some of his works are rather decorations than architectural constructions, so that we feel and see that Bramante's was the upgrowth, Sansovino's the decadence. Invention rather than profound comprehension was what he brought to his sculpture. His Bacchus has real beauty, his

made honourable preparations for the same, and the funeral oration was performed by Messer Camillo Buonfigli, who is also an excellent person.

Sant' Jacopo has virility and elegance at once, but the people of his bas-reliefs, with their blunted pseudo-antique features, speak to us eloquently of a time that is overweighted with its inheritance of facility, an epoch in which striving has been succeeded by easy production. His best Venetian statues are picturesque and charming, his worst fall below mediocrity, but as architect he stamped his individuality upon the city, and in spite of the severity of some architectural critics, although principles may be violated in its construction, the Library of San Marco, by its beauty, proves its right to existence. In the year 1529, after the sack of Rome, the theatre of artistic endeavor shifted from central Italy to the North. Men had studied and struggled for three hundred years; now and here they would enjoy, and the Venice of Titian and of Sansovino with her free, luxurious, yet stately art, stands at the close of the Renaissance the splendid culmination of the most complete school of modern times—the school of Italy.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

THE Preface to the present volumes may practically serve as an introduction to the following Bibliography. In this list only three classes of works have been admitted:

First, such works as are actually known to the Editors; second, such as are guaranteed by the eminence of their authors as specialists or scholars; third, such as are cited by first-rate authorities as of real use to the student of the Renaissance. The works are grouped under the following heads: I. General Bibliography. Early sources—writers preceding the present century. Works of a general character referring to the Renaissance—Architecture of the Renaissance, Sculpture and Painting. II. Regional bibliography. This last division contains works referring to special cities; the list begins with Florence, continues through Tuscany and Umbria to Rome and Naples, crosses the Apennines to Ancona, and travels back up the Adriatic side of the Peninsula by Rimini, Bologna, Ferrara, to Venice; thence across North Italy to Milan, the list terminating with Genoa. III. Works upon Italian art in Transalpine galleries. IV. Periodicals.

Among the books included in the list are many which have been superseded, but which were once famous, have had a distinct share in furthering the study of Italian art, and are still cited by contemporaneous students. In the Bibliography prefixed to special lives the editors have named any good edition of a work to which the reader may refer, but in this General Bibliography, they have tried to give the earliest edition and some good late edition. Uniformity of spelling must not be looked for in Italian

titles, Italian orthography being exceedingly arbitrary. Thus we have Loreto, Loretto; Michelangelo, Michelangiolo, Michelagnolo; Tiziano, Ticiano, Tuziano, Tuciano; Giovanni Bellini, Gian Bellini, Giambellino, etc.

The value of the illustrations to books upon art is largely an affair of their date. The fifteenth- and sixteenth-century engravings are works of art in themselves; a Marco Antonio is not a true reproduction of a Raphael drawing, but it gives, first of all, the character of Raphael's century; secondly, the character of Raphael's design modified by the engraver's *technique* and the engraver's personality. Such work is valuable *per se*. The engravings of later times in Cicognara, Rosini, Lasinio, compel our respect for the men who worked so sincerely and laboriously at these plates, but the latter are rather memoranda of composition than reproductions, and their principal value is that they have often preserved for us an approximate reproduction of frescoes which have perished, or of pictures which have been lost since the engravings were made. Some of the worst illustrations are the wood-cuts made in the sixties and early seventies of the present century. As said above, they are mere memoranda of composition, and are misleading in their distortion of the art-work which they are supposed to represent. Certain recent wood engravings, like those of Baude and others in France, of Cole and others in America, are themselves works of art, and are also excellent reproductions, in which the color of the work copied is sometimes rendered more truly than in photographs.

As the dates of the books become more recent the illustrations are made more and more after mechanical processes. Process reproduction of all kinds is valuable to the student, the poorest process prints are helpful, and the best approach perfection. It would be difficult to surpass some of the work shown in the Austrian and Prussian Annuaries, in certain recent French publications, or in Dr. Bode's *Denkmäler*. Photography is most available of all as a means of study—affords invaluable documents to the cabi-

net student, makes comparison and analysis possible to him, and fixes his memories of foreign travel.

In the following list the Editors have tried to include an adequate number of the most notable works upon the Art of the Renaissance, but this list is necessarily limited, since if a complete catalogue were obtainable it would fill volumes. A whole literature has grown up about the names of Michelangelo, Raphael, Leonardo, and many other artists, but for all works referring to special men the reader is referred to special bibliographies scattered through these volumes, as their titles are duplicated here in only a few instances.

Italian art in Italy, rather than in Transalpine galleries, is illustrated in the following list. Many articles are taken from the *Archivio Storico dell' Arte Italiana,* from the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* the *Jahrbuch der Königlichen Preussischen Kuntsammlungen,* and the *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses.* The last two titles have for convenience been contracted in the list to Jahrb. or Jahrbuch d. K. P. K. and Jahrbuch . . . des Kaiserhauses.

Among works which may be consulted upon the *general* Bibliography of Art, Weigl's *Kunstcatalog,* Leipsic, 1849–66; The Universal Catalogue of Books on Art, published by the South Kensington Museum, London, 1870, with later supplements; the *Bibliographie des Beaux-Arts* of Ernest Vinet, Paris, 1874–77 (publication discontinued), are all too voluminous or too lacking in classification to be of much use. The student may with much more advantage consult the many catalogues of great civic or national libraries, the classified catalogues of the South Kensington Museum, and those of the great book publishers (such as Quaritch, Batsford, London; Quantin, Morel, Firmin Didot, Paris; Hoepli, Milan; Hiersemann, Brockhaus, Leipsic, etc.). Particularly helpful to Americans, are the catalogue (of books relating to architecture) of the Boston Public Library, Boston, 1894, and the handsome and splendidly printed

catalogue of the Avery Memorial Library (works referring to architecture) of Columbia University, New York, 1895. The Editors of the present volumes are particularly indebted for valuable suggestions to Mr. Russell Sturgis the architect and writer, and for much courtesy and kindness to Mr. E. R. Smith, of the Avery Library, and to Mr. G. H. Baker, Librarian of Columbia Universitv.

# ITALIAN RENAISSANCE

## GENERAL WORKS

### EARLY LITERARY SOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF THE HISTORY OF ART.

CENNINI, CENNINO.—Trattato della Pittura (written 1437 ?). Rome, 1821. The best edition is that of G. and C. Milanesi, Florence, 1859. There is a translation by Mrs. M. P. Merrifield, Treatise on Painting, etc., London, 1849; a German edition is Das Buch von der Kunst oder Tractat der Malerei des Cennino Cennini da Colle di Valdelsa; übersetzt mit einleitung Noten und Register versehen von Albert Ilg. Vienna, 1888.

This Treatise, finished perhaps before 1400, see E. Müntz's Les Primitifs, p. 360. may claim to be the earliest of modern works on Art.

GHIBERTI, LORENZO (born, 1378; died, 1455).—Commentario sulle Arti.—Cicognara gives extracts from this early MS. in Storia della Scultura, II., p. 99, and Perkins, in his Ghiberti et son École, translated much of it into French. (For the nature of the treatise, see Vol. I., p. 194, note 4, in the present work.)

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PACIOLO (*sic*) LUCA.—Divina Proportione. Venice, 1509. German edition, Fra Luca Paciolo, Divina Proportione; die Lehre vom Goldenen Schmitt. Edited by Herr Winterberg, Vienna, 1889. See also the life of P. della Francesca, Vol. II., p. 28, note 22 of present work.

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MICHIELI, M. A.—Notizie d' opere di disegno nella prima metà del secolo XVI. esistenti in Padova, Cremona, Milano, Pavia, Bergamo, Crema, e Vinezia scritta da un anonimo di quel tempo, pubblicate e illustrate da D. Jacopo Morelli custode della R. Biblioteca di S. Marco di Venezia. Bassano, 1800. Good editions of the Notizie are those edited by Dr. G. Frizzoni, Bologna, 1884, and by Dr. Theodor Frimmel, Vienna, 1888. Cicogna published certain Diarii of Michieli in the Memorie dell' Istituto Veneto.

This is the excellent critical notice of the Venetian Marc Antonio Michiel (or Michieli) the so-called "Anonimo" of Morelli; the Abbè Morelli discovered it among the codices of the Biblioteca Marciana; it had belonged to Apostolo Zeno (1668–1750).

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VASARI, GIORGIO (born, 1511; died, 1574).—Le Vite dei più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori. 1550. (The Torrentine edition.) A second and enlarged edition, the Giunti, appeared in Florence in 1568. On this edition all of the later ones are based. Vasari's Lives were reprinted at Bologna in 1647–48; in Rome in 1758 or 1759 (this is Bottari's edition and contains valuable notes); the Siennese edition of Padre G. della Valle was published in 1791–94. In the present century we have had the important Florentine edition of 1846–57, usually known as the Lemonnier edition; it

was edited by Signori Pini, C. and G. Milanesi, Marchese, and Selvatico. The last Italian edition is that of Gaetano Milanesi—the Milanesi or the Sansoni edition as it is often called—published in Florence, 1878–85; it is in nine octavo volumes. The German edition of Schorn and Foerster was published at Stuttgart, 1832–49, in eight volumes; the French edition of Leclanché was published in Paris, 1839–42. The English edition is Lives of Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects, Translated, with Notes, by Mrs. Jonathan Foster. London, 1850. It is in five volumes, a sixth volume, containing Notes by Dr. J. P. Richter appeared in 1884. In 1885 appeared Mr. Henty's Stories of the Italian Artists, from Vasari; it is, however, narrative, not critical. An excellent German edition of selected lives is that of Karl Frey—Sammlung ausgewählter Biographien Vasari's zum Gebrauche bei Vorlesungen, I., Donatello; II., Michelangelo; III., Ghiberti; IV., Brunelleschi; this edition includes Condivi's Life of Michelangelo. Leipsic, 1887.

PALLADIO, etc.—Among the many editions of the works of Palladio, Vignola, Serlio, and Scamozzi are: Serlio, S. (born, 1475; died, 1552).—Tutte l'opere d'architettura . . . raccolto per via di considerazioni da G. D. Scamozzi. Venice, 1584. Vignola, G. B. da (born, 1507; died, 1573).—Five Orders of Architecture [with] the Greek Orders; edited and translated by A. L. Tuckerman. Square folio. New York, 1891. Palladio, Andrea (born, 1518; died, 1580).—Le Fabbriche e i disegni raccolti ed illustrate da O. B. Scamozzi. (With a French translation), Vicenza, 1786. Scamozzi, V. (born, 1552; died, 1616).—L'idea dell' architettura universale, per cura di Stefano Ticozzi e . . . Luigi Masieri. Milan, 1838.

DOLCE, LODOVICO.—Dialogo della Pittura. Venice, 1557.

Containing a comparison between Raphael and Titian, to the advantage of the latter. There is a German edition, Vienna, 1871. An English translation, London, 1770.

BORGHINI, RAFFAELLO.—Il Riposo in cui della pittura e della scultura si favella de' più illustri pittori e scultori. Florence, 1584.—Edition of Bottari. Florence, 1730.

LOMAZZO, GIOVANNI PAOLO (born, 1538; died, 1600).—Trattato dell' arte della pittura diviso in sette libri, Milan, 1584. Another edition, Rome, 1844. English translation, Oxford, 1598.

Lomazzo was an immediate follower of Leonardo da Vinci.

BOCCHI, F.—Le Bellezze della città di Fiorenza . . . Pittura, etc. Florence, 1591. Giovanni Cinelli added to Bocchi's treatise and published an enlarged edition. Florence, 1677.

RIDOLFI, CARLO.—Maraviglie dell' Arte ovvero le vite degl' illustri Pittori Veneti e dello stato. Venice, 1648. 2 vols., quarto. Another edition, Padua, 1835–37.

Ridolfi's work is a famous source of information, largely of a gossiping and anecdotic character, concerning the Venetian artists, Titian, etc. Ridolfi also wrote a life of Tintoretto.

BOSCHINI, MARCO.—Carta del Navegar. Venice, 1660. Also, Miniere della Pittura, 1664, an enlarged edition, Pubbliche Pitture, etc., 1733.

BALDINUCCI, FILIPPO.—Notizie dei professori del disegno da Cimabue in quà. 5 vols. Florence, 1681–1728. Later editions are the Florentine of 1767–74, and the Turin edition of 1768–1817.

These "Notices" of Baldinucci, some of the later editions of which are in as many as fourteen volumes, have been frequently cited by later authors.

MALVASIA, C. C. FELSINA.—Pittrice, Bologna, 1678 (with G. P. Zanotti, 1841).

RICHA, GIUSEPPE.—Notizie istoriche delle chiese fiorentine. Florence, 1754–62. 10 vols., octavo.

BOTTARI, G. G.—Raccolta di lettere sulla Pittura, Scultura ed Architettura, etc. 7 vols., quarto. Rome, 1754–73. A later edition is Bottari, G. G., and Ticozzi, S.—Raccolta di lettere sulla pittura, scultura ed architettura, scritte [negli] secoli XV.–XVII. 8 vols. Milan. 1822–25. See also Bottari's dialoghi sopra le tre arte. Lucca, 1754.

ZANETTI, A.—Della pittura Veneziana e delle opere pubbliche dei Veneziani maestri. Venice, 1771.

MENGS, A. R.—Opere. Parma, 1780. Bassano, 1783. English translation, London, 1796. French translation, Paris, 1786. German translation, Halle, 1786. Bonn, 1843–44.

DELLA VALLE, GUGLIELMO.—Lettere sanesi sopra le belle arti. 3 vols., quarto. Venice, 1782–86.—Storia del Duomo d' Orvieto. Quarto. Rome, 1791.

TIRABOSCHI, A. G.—Notizie de' pittori, scultori, incisori ed architetti nati negli stati di Modena con un' appendice de' professori di Musica. Modena, 1786.

MARIOTTI, A.—Lettere pittoriche perugine. Perugia, 1788.

LANZI, L.—Storia pittorica dell' Italia dal Risorgimento. Bassano, 1795. Other editions: Pisa, 1815-16; Florence, 1822; Milan, 1823; Milan, 1831; Florence, 1834. English translation by Thomas Roscoe, London, 1828 and 1847. There are also French and German translations.

## WORKS OF A GENERAL CHARACTER — HISTORICAL, ARCHÆOLOGICAL, LITERARY.

LITTA POMPEO.—Famiglie Celebri Italiane. Milan, 1819. 8 vols. (Completed 1852, publication recommenced in 1858.)

GAUTIER, THÉOPHILE.—Italie. Paris, 1850.

Treating principally of Venice and its school.

DUMESNIL, J.—Histoire des plus célèbres amateurs italiens et de leurs relations avec les artistes. Paris, 1853.

BURCKHARDT, J.—Der Cultur der Renaissance in Italien. Basle, 1860. La Civilisation en Italie au temps de la Renaissance—a translation in 2 vols., by M. Schmitt, from the second German edition—was published in Paris in 1885. There is an English edition, The Civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy, translated by S. G. C. Middlemore. London, 1892. Die Geschichte der Renaissance. Stuttgart, 1868.

These are some of the most thorough and remarkable works ever written upon the epoch of the Renaissance.

TAINE, H.—La Philosophie de l'Art en Italie (in a series including also The Philosophy of Art in Greece, in the Netherlands, and the Ideal in Art), Paris, 1866.—Voyage en Italie, Vol. I., Naples et Rome; Vol. II., Florence et Venise. Second edition. Paris, 1874. English translation by John Durand. 2 vols. New York, 1872.

These are some of the most admirable and important books ever written upon Italian art, treating the subject from the philosophical and historical, not from the archæological, point of view.

SYMONDS, JOHN ADDINGTON.—Renaissance in Italy. London, 1875–80. This well-known work of an eminent scholar and art-critic comprises (New York edition) The Age of the Despots, 1881. The Revival of Learning; The Fine Arts, 1882. Italian Literature, 2 vols., 1882. The Catholic Reaction, 2 vols., 1887. A Short History of the Renaissance in Italy (London and New York, 1894) was compiled by Lieut.-Col. Alfred Pearson from the larger history.

Among other historical works see Sismondi's Italian Republics, editions in various languages; Edgar Quinet's Les Révolutions d'Italie; Michelet's volume on the Renaissance; Delaborde, L'Expédition de Charles VIII. en Italie, Paris, 1888; Eugène Müntz, La Renaissance en Italie à l'Epoque de Charles VIII.; A. Mary F. Robinson, The End of the Middle Ages. Perrens (La Civilisation Florentine du XIII^e au XVI^e siècle, Paris, 1893) and Scaife (Florentine Life during the Renaissance, Baltimore, 1893) refer especially to Florence. For other authors dealing particularly with Rome, Florence, Venice, such as Gregorovius, Villari, Trollope, etc., see the Regional Bibliography.

MINGHETTI, M.—Le donne italiane nelle belle arti al sec. XV. e XVI. 1877.

HETTNER, H. J. T.—Italienische studien; zur Geschichte der Renaissance. Brunswick, 1879.

GEBHART, E.—Les Origines de la Renaissance en Italie. Paris, 1879. La Renaissance italienne et la Philosophie de l'Histoire. Paris, 1887.

VOIGT.—Die Wiederbelebung des Classischen Alterthums. Second edition. Leipsic, 1880–81.

PATER, WALTER.—Studies in the History of the Renaissance. London, 1873. Renaissance Studies in Art and Poetry. London, 1877.

Full of delicate and poetical comprehension of the Renaissance.

VERNON LEE (Violet Paget).—Euphorion. 1885. Second edition. Juvenilia. No date. Belcaro. 1882. Renaissance Fancies and Studies. London and New York, 1896. Lombard Villas (in Cosmopolis). 1896.

It is difficult to even broadly classify works having general reference to the epoch of the Renaissance, but if the books of Burckhardt, Symonds, etc., are historical and philosophical treatises, those of Pater and Vernon Lee are rather collections of essays in which art, poetry, and history are interwoven. Art and poetry again are in the ascendant in M. R. Hewlett's quaint and charming Earthwork out of Tuscany (London, 1896). Other works are more distinctly notes of travel, as is the case with Mr. James's Foreign Parts, Transatlantic Studies, Venice, The Grand Canal, Mr. Howells's Tuscan Cities and Italian Journeys, Story's Roba di Roma, Hillard's Six Months in Italy, Mr. Eugene Benson's Art and Nature, Mr. Charles Eliot Norton's Notes, Leader Scott's Studies and Sketches. From Reynolds, in the eighteenth century, to the author of the last new book, every traveller has written of Italy, and his work is sure to at least touch upon the art of the peninsula.

SONZOGNO, E., Publisher.—Collana delle Cento Città d'Italia. Milan, 1887 *et seq.*

This Collana is made up of successive numbers, covering several years, of the illustrated supplements to the journal *Il Secolo*. The illustrations are roughly executed wood-cuts from photographs, but are three thousand or more in number, giving views, interiors, etc., in every part of Italy and Sicily.

Guide-Books, or books partaking of the nature of guides.—Few guide-books have been included in the following Bibliography, but it should not be forgotten that in the volumes devoted to Italy by Gsell-Fels, Baedeker, Murray, Joanne, etc., the articles upon art are often the excellent work of special scholars. The well-known works of A. J. C. Hare, Cities of Northern and Central Italy, Walks in Rome, Days near Rome, Cities of Southern Italy and Sicily, are to a certain extent compilations containing history, criticism, and catalogues at once. Dr. L. C. Loomis's Index-Guide may be mentioned, while the Guide of Gsell-Fels may again be named as particularly valuable. Some of the special guides to Italian cities or museums are by well-known scholars, such as S. S. Ridolfi, Ricci, Venturi. Some of these works will be found noted in the Regional Bibliography.

PUNGILEONI, L.—See the special Bibliography of Raphael, Correggio, and other artists; Pungileoni also edited many documents from the Venetian archives, etc.

KUGLER, F. T.—Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte. Stuttgart, 1842, and later editions, with three Atlases, edited by August von Voit, the atlases being Denkmäler der Architektur, der Sculptur, der Malerei. The above is a general history. For the volumes special to the Italian Renaissance, see under the heads of ARCHITECTURE and PAINTING. The Denkmäler der Sculptur and Denkmäler der Malerei are by Lübke and others, the Denkmäler der Architektur by Voit and others. See Kugler, on page 349. Handbuch der Geschichte der Malerei.

SCHNAASE, C.—Geschichte der bildenden Künste. 8 vols. Düsseldorf, 1843-44, and 1866-79.

RACZYNSKI, LE COMTE ATHANASE.—Les Arts en Portugal. Paris, 1846. Containing the curious Dialogues of François de Hollande, Dissertations upon Italian Art in Rome of the sixteenth century, in which Michelangelo is one of the interlocutors.

MISSIRINI, M.—Celebrità italiane nell' architettura e pittura. Florence, 1847.

SELVATICO, P. E.—Scritti d'Arte. Florence, 1859, Storia estetico-critica delle arti del disegno; ovvero, l' architettura, la pittura e la statuaria considerate nelle correlazioni fra lora e negli svolgimenti storici, estetici e tecnici. Venice, 1852-56.

BURCKHARDT, J.—Der Cicerone, Eine Einleitung zum Genuss der Kunstwerke Italiens. Basle, 1855. Second edition, 1860, 3 vols.—Third edition of A. von Zahn. 3 vols. Leipzig, 1874.—Fourth edition of W. Bode. 2 vols. Leipsic, 1879. The English edition is published by John Murray. The fifth edition, in 2 vols., also of Dr. Bode, is translated by Auguste Gérard. Paris, 1892.

This is one of the most important works written upon the Renaissance, and is at once topographical, historical, critical, and descriptive.

BERJEAU.—The Horses of Antiquity, Middle Ages, and Renaissance. London, 1864. See also Weizsäcker, H. Das Pferd in der Kunst des Quattrocento. Jahrb. d. K. P. S., VII., pp. 40, 157. 1886.

W. LÜBKE.—Die Kunst der Neuzeit. Stuttgart, 1868.—An English edition is the History of Art, translated by F. E. Bunnett. London, 1868.

A well-known and popular work.

MEYER, JULIUS.—Allgemeines Künstler Lexikon. Berlin, 1870.

COLVIN, SIDNEY.—Children in Italian and English Design. London, 1872.

CLEMENT, CLARA ERSKINE.—Hand-book of Legendary and Mythological Art. New York, 1872. Painters, Sculptors, Architects, Engravers. 1874.

SYMONDS, J. A.—Renaissance in Italy; the Fine Arts. London, 1877; New York, 1882.

This is one of the volumes of the History of the Renaissance already noted.

JANITSCHEK, H.—Die Gesellschaft der Renaissance in Italien und die Kunst. Stuttgart, 1879.

SCHMARSOW, A.—Der Eintritt der Grottesken in die Dekorationen der Italienischen Renaissance. Jahrb. d. K. P. K., Vol. II., 1881.

A study of the application of the so-called grotesques to painting.

MUNTZ, EUGENE.—Les Précurseurs de la Renaissance. Paris, 1882.—Histoire de l'Art pendant la Renaissance. Italie. Les Primitifs, 1889.—Histoire de l'Art pendant la Renaissance. Italie. L'Age d'Or, 1891.—Histoire de l'Art pendant la Renaissance. Italie. La Fin de la Renaissance, 1895.—La Renaissance . . . à l'Epoque de Charles VIII. Paris, 1885.—Histoire de la Tapisserie en Italie, etc. Paris, 1878.—Les Arts à la Cour des Papes. Paris, 1878–82 (in the Bibliotheque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome).—L'Histoire des Arts dans la Ville d'Avignon pendant le XIVe siècle, essai bibliographique suivi de documents inédits (for the sojourn of Italian artists in Avignon).—Les collections des Médicis au XVe siècle, Paris, 1888. Les Artistes français du XIVe siècle et la propagande gothique en Italie. (L'Ami des Monuments, 1889, No. 9.)—Les archives des Arts, Recueil de documents inédits ou peu connus. Paris, 1890.

The four volumes of the Histoire de l'Art, etc., added to "Les Précurseurs," make up one of the most complete and available histories of the Italian Renaissance ever published, and are filled with excellent reproductions. These volumes will be followed by others upon the Renaissance in countries north of the Alps. M. Müntz is not only a learned and copious contributor to periodical literature, but is an indefatigable student of original documents. The "bibliography" scattered through these volumes is particularly valuable.

GUILLAUME, E.—Études d'Art antique et moderne.

M. Guillaume is the celebrated French sculptor, and has been Director of the School of Rome.

SCHÜTZ, A.—Die Renaissance in Italien; eine Sammlung der werthvollsten erhalten Monumente in Chronologischer Folge geordnet. Hamburg, 1885.

This is a volume of more than three hundred large plates, principally architectural.

LÜZTOW, C. F. A. VON.—Die Kunstschätze Italiens. Stuttgardt, 1882–85. Italian edition, I tesori d'Arte d' Italia. Milan.

A work containing a great number of illustrations.

COURAJOD, L.—Les Origines de la Renaissance en France au XIV. et au XV. siècle. Paris, 1898.

The late Louis Courajod was an eminent authority, especially upon the sculpture of the Renaissance.

MELANI, ALFREDO.—Arte Italiana. Milan, 1888.

One hundred and fifty plates, architectonic and ornamental fragments from the works of painters and sculptors.

CAVALUCCI AND OTHERS.—Les Arts en Italie. Folio. Paris, 1888.

BAXTER, MRS. LUCY (SCOTT, LEADER, *Pseud.*).—Renaissance of Art in Italy; an illustrated Sketch by Leader Scott. London, 1888.

BLANC, C.—Histoire de la Renaissance artistique en Italie; revised by M. Faucon. 2 vols. Paris, 1889.

CROWNINSHIELD, FREDERIC.—Mural Decoration. Boston, 1887.

An excellent work, full of important technical information.

MEYER.—Studien zur Geschichte der plastischen Darstellungs-formen. I. Zur Geschichte der Renaissance Herme. Leipsic, 1894.

A work referring especially to purely decorative figures.

GOODYEAR, W. H.—Renaissance and Modern Art. Meadville and New York, 1894.

Mr. Goodyear has made many special investigations referring to optical refinements in Mediæval and Renaissance buildings.

COURAJOD, L.—L'Imitation et la Contrefaçon des objets d'art antiques aux XV^e^ et XVI^e^ siècles. Gazette des Beaux-Arts, September and October, 1886.

LA GALLERIE NAZIONALE ITALIANE. — Notizie e documenti. Rome, M.DCCC.LXXXIIIJ. *et seq.* (This is to be an annuary of the Italian collections.) Edited by A. Venturi.

SPRINGER, A. H.—Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte. Last edition. Vols. III. and IV., Renaissance, etc. Leipsic, 1896.

## ARCHITECTURE OF THE RENAISSANCE.

MILIZIA, F. DE.—Vite degl' Architetti. Rome, 1768 (a complete edition of Milizia's works is Opere Complete, 9 vols. Bologna, 1826-28). French translation of the Vite, Pingeron (Paris), 1771. Mrs. Edward Cresy's English translation, Lives of Celebrated Architects. London, 1826.

Milizia is celebrated for the severity of his judgments. His criticism of Michelangelo has provoked much controversy. Milizia by his date belongs among the eighteenth century sources, but custom has classed him with Cicognara and Rosini as one of the three early historians of architecture, sculpture, and painting.

QUATREMÈRE DE QUINCY, A. C.—Histoire de la vie et des ouvrages des plus célèbres architectes du XI^e^ siècle jusqu'à la fin du XVIII^e^. 2 vols. Paris, 1830.

ISABELLE, C. E.—Parallèle des Salles Rondes de l'Italie. Folio. Paris, 1831 and 1863.—Les édifices circulaires et les dômes, classés par ordre chronologiques . . . Folio. 78 plates. Paris, 1855.

RUSKIN, JOHN.—The Seven Lamps of Architecture. London, 1849.

SCHEULT.—Recueil d'Architecture. Paris, 1840. Folio. 72 plates engraved by Picou.

An interesting series of buildings, palaces, etc., less well known than the great public buildings of Italy.

STREET, G. E.—Brick and Marble in the Middle Ages; Notes of a Tour in the North of Italy. Plates. London, 1855. Second edition, 1874.

RICCI, A.—Storia dell' Architettura in Italia dal sec. IV. al XVIII. 3 vols. Modena, 1857.

FERGUSSON, J.—History of Architecture of all countries. London, 1865, 1867. 2 vols. Illustrated. 4 vols. 1873–76. Third edition. 5 vols. 1893.

The two volumes on Modern Architecture (History of the Modern Styles) are the ones which include the matter treating of the Renaissance.

BURCKHARDT, J., AND OTHERS.—Geschichte der neueren Baukunst. Stuttgart, 1867–89. 4 vols. in 5. Illustrated. Plates. Plans. Die Renaissance in Italien. [Geschichte der Baukunst.] Second edition. Stuttgart, 1878.

This was originally Vol. IV. of Kugler's History.

GRUNER, OTTOLIN AND LOSE.—The Terra-Cotta Architecture of North Italy. (XIIth–XVth Centuries.) London, 1867.

BÜHLMANN.—Die Architektur des classischen Alterthums und der Renaissance. Stuttgart, 1872–77.

FREEMAN, E. A.—Historical and Architectural Sketches: Chiefly Italian. (Illustrated.) London, 1876.—Sketches from the Subject and Neighbour Lands of Venice London, 1881.

NORTON, C. E.—Historical Studies of Church-building in the Middle Ages, Venice, Siena, Florence. New York, 1880.—Notes of Travel and Study in Italy. Boston, 1859 (?)

BOITO, C.—Architettura del Medio Evo in Italia, con una introduzione sullo stile futuro dell' Architettura italiana. Milan, 1880.

GRUNER, W. H. L.—Fresco Decorations and Stuccoes of Churches and Palaces in Italy during the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries, with Descriptions, and a comparison between the ancient Arabesques and those of the Sixteenth Century, by A. Hittorff. Folio, 46 plates. London, second edition, 1854.—Die decorative Kunst, etc. Folio, 100 plates. Dresden [pref. 1881].—Specimens of Ornamental Art. Text by E. Braun. Folio, 80 plates. London, 1850.

Gruner's works contain superb colored plates, details being often given on a large scale.

GRAUS, J.—Die Katholische Kirche und die Renaissance. Gratz, 1885 and 1888.—Der Kirchenschmuck, 1890.

The author in this work endeavors to show that the Renaissance Architects respected all the prescribed places for ambones, etc., in the ancient Christian basilicas.

RAMÉE, D.—L'Histoire générale de l'Architecture: Renaissance. Paris, 1885.

The work has been criticised as containing a great number of historical errors.

REDTENBACHER. R. — Der Architektur der Italienischen Renaissance. Frankfort, 1886.

M. Müntz finds a great number of erroneous dates in this work, but praises it as a very valuable "collection of notes."

WÖLFFLIN, H.—Renaissance und Barock. Eine Untersuchung über Wesen und Entstehung des Barockstils in Italien. Munich, 1888.

MELANI, A.—Architettura italiana. Milan, 1887.

STRACK, HEINRICH.—Ziegelbauwerke des Mittelalters und der Renaissance in Italien. Folio, plates. Berlin, 1889.

TUCKERMAN, A. L.—Selection of Works of Architecture and Sculpture belonging chiefly to the Period of the Renaissance in Italy. New York, 1891.

A book of ninety large plates reproduced by modern processes.

PALUSTRE, L.—Architecture de la Renaissance. Paris, 1892. (In the Bibliothèque de l'Enseignement des Beaux-Arts.)

FLECHSIG.—Die Dekoration der Modernen Bühne in Italien von den Anfängen bis zum Schluss des XVI. Jahrhunderts. Dresden, 1894.

ENLART, C.—Origines françaises de l'Architecture gothique en Italie. Paris, 1894.

PLATT, C. A.—Italian Gardens. New York, 1894.

With many reproductions of the Italian combination of architecture with landscape gardening.

FLETCHER, BANNISTER, and B. F. FLETCHER.—A History of Architecture for the Student, Craftsman, and Amateur. London, 1896.

HAMLIN, A. D. F.—A Text-book of the History of Architecture. New York, 1896.

LONGFELLOW, W. P. P.—Encyclopædia of Architecture in Italy, Greece, and the Levant. New York, 1896.

STURGIS, RUSSELL. — European Architecture, a Historical Study. New York, 1896. A study of the essence of styles. The author is at once a scholar and a practising architect; the illustrations are clear and enlightening. Italian Architecture of the Renaissance is treated on pp. 245–259, 307–326, 365–388, 450–473, 538–546.

## SCULPTURE OF THE RENAISSANCE.

EMÉRIC-DAVID, T. B.—Recherches sur l'Art Statuaire. Paris, 1800 (1805, 1863).

See Gaston Schéfer, Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1895, Third Period, for an interesting article on the critical appreciations of Emèric-David, Stendhal, and Gautier, and their visits to Italy.

CICOGNARA, L.—Storia della Scultura dal suo risorgimento in Italia fino al secolo di Napoleone. Venice, 1813–18. 3 vols. in folio. Second edition. 7 vols., 8vo, and Atlas. Prato, 1823–24.

Famous as the first general history of sculpture.

GRANDJEAN DE MONTIGNY.—Recueil des plus beaux tombeaux exécutés en Italie dans les XV^e^ et XVI^e^ siècles. Paris, 1813.

ROBINSON, J. C.—Italian Sculpture of the Middle Ages and Period of the Revival of Art. London, 1862.

Referring especially to the works in South Kensington Museum. This book is also catalogued under the head of TRANSALPINE GALLERIES.

LÜBKE, W.—Geschichte der Plastik, von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart. Leipsic, 1863, 1870–71, and 1880–83. History of Sculpture from the Earliest Ages to the Present Time. Translated by F. E. Bunnett. Second edition. London, 1872.

PERKINS, C. C.—Italian Sculptors, being a History of Sculpture in Northern, Southern, and Eastern Italy. London, 1868. The French edition of the above is Les Sculpteurs italiens, trad. de l'anglais par Ch. P. Haussoulier. Paris, 1869.

For other works of the author see under the head of REGIONAL ART.

BARBET DE JOUY, HENRI.—Description des sculptures du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance. Paris, 1876. See also the Life of Della Robbia, for monograph.

SEMPER, H.—Hervorragende Bildhauer-Architekten der Renaissance. Dresden, 1880. Herr Semper is author of a monograph on Donatello. See the life of the latter in Vol. I. of the present work.

PERKINS, C. C.—Historical Hand-book of Italian Sculpture. London and New York, 1883.

FRIEDLAENDER, J.—Die Geprägten italienischen Medaillen des XV^en Jahrhunderts. Berlin, 1883.

GRIMM, H.—Italienische Portraitbüsten des Quattrocento. Preussische Jahrbücher, April, 1883.

BODE, W.—Die italienischen Sculpturen der Renaissance. Jahrbuch der K. P. K., Vol. II., pp. 69–78; Vol. III., 91–105, 235–267; Vol. V., pp. 27–42; Vol. VI., pp. 75–81, 170–185; Vol. VII., pp. 23–39. See also the collected articles, Italienische Bildhauer der Renaissance, Berlin, 1887, and Die Italienische Plastik, Berlin, 1891. (For the magnificent Sculptur Toscanas, edited by Dr. Bode, see under head of TUSCANY. Dr. Bode is also author of Donatello à Padoue, see Life of Donatello, and of many articles named in the special Bibliography of these volumes.)

CAVALUCCI, C. J.—Manuale di storia della scultura. Turin, 1884. (For the work of this author with M. Molinier, on the Robbias, see Life of Luca della Robbia.)

MOLINIER, E.—Les Bronzes de la Renaissance.—Les Plaquettes. 2 vols. Paris, 1886.

HEISS, ALOISS.—Les Médailleurs de la Renaissance. Paris, 1887.

An important work; see also the reviews of it by M. Charles Ephrussi, in the Gazette des Beaux-Arts.

ARMAND.—Les Médailleurs Italiens des quinzième et seizième siècles. Second edition. 3 vols. Paris, 1883–87.

Another important work upon the medallists; it is reviewed by M. Heiss in the Gazette des Beaux-Arts.

MELANI, A.—La Scultura Italiana. Milan, 1888.

LENORMANT, FR.—Monnaies et Medailles. Paris. An excellent book in the Bibliothèque de l'Enseignement des Beaux-Arts; for other works upon the important subject of Italian medals, see the bibliography of Vittore Pisano, Vol. II. of the present work.

COURAJOD, L.—La Polychromie dans la Statuaire du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance. Paris, 1888.

MARQUAND, ALLAN, and ARTHUR L. FROTHINGHAM.—A Text-book of the History of Sculpture. New York, 1896. For special articles by Dr. Marquand, upon the School of the Robbias, see the Bibliography of Luca della Robbia, in Vol. I. of the present work.

REYMOND, MARCEL.—See under the head of FLORENCE for this author's works on sculpture, and under the head of PISA for Signor Supino's articles.

## PAINTING OF THE RENAISSANCE.

STENDHAL, DE (HENRI BEYLE).—Histoire de la Peinture en Italie. Paris, 1827 and 1860.—Rome, Naples et Florence. Paris, 1817 and 1865.—Promenades dans Rome. 2 vols. Paris, 1829, and later editions.

Stendhal's art criticism belongs to the epoch of the Romantic School, but his study of the psychological side of the Renaissance is brilliant and subtle.

ÉMÉRIC-DAVID, T. B.—Histoire de la Peinture au Moyen Âge. Paris, 1842 and 1863.

ROSINI, G.—Storia della Pittura Italiana esposta coi monumenti. 7 vols., 8vo, and 2 folio vols. of plates. Pisa, 1839–47 and 1848–54.

This is a famous early work, occupying toward painting the position which Cicognara's work held toward sculpture.

KUGLER, FRANZ THEODOR.—Handbuch der Geschichte der Malerei. 2 vols. Berlin, 1837. Dr. Burckhardt made additions to a second edition in 1847. An English edition, Hand-book of Painting, Italian Schools, 2 vols., translated by Lady Eastlake, edited by Sir Charles Eastlake, appeared in London, 1851 and 1874. The latest English edition is edited by Sir A. H. Layard, London, 1887.

Dr. Kugler was, thinks M. Auguste Gérard, the first to apply the philosophico-historical methods to the study of painting.

JAMESON, MRS.—Memoirs of Early Italian Painters. London, 1845.—Sacred and Legendary Art. London, 1848.—Monastic Orders. London, 1850.—Legends of the Madonna. London, 1852.—History of Our Lord. London, 1864.—Latest edition in five volumes, with Notes by E. M. Hurll. New York, 1896.

Mrs. Jameson's books treat their subjects largely in relation to their expression through the graphic arts. Her technical knowledge is not great, but her appreciation is always sympathetic. The History of Our Lord was published by Lady Eastlake.

MARCHESE, V.—Memorie dei più insigni pittori, scultori e architetti domenicani. 2 vols. Florence, 1845. 2d ed., 1854, Genoa, 1869; 4th ed., 2 vols. Bologna, 1878–79. An English edition is The Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects of the Order of St. Dominic. Translated by C. P. Meehan. 2 vols. Dublin, 1852.

Padre Marchese is a standard authority, and the Order of St. Dominic has produced more artists than all the other orders put together.

MERRIFIELD, M. P.—Original Treatises on the Art of Painting. 2 vols. London, 1849.—Art of Fresco Painting as Practised by the Old Italian and Spanish Masters. 2 vols. London, 1846.

LINDSAY, LORD.—Sketches of the History of Christian Art. 3 vols., 8vo. London, 1847. 2 vols., 8vo. London, 1886.

This work treats of the Early Schools and ends with Fra Angelico.

BLANC, CHARLES.—Histoire des Peintres de toutes les Écoles. Paris, 1848–77. The volumes relating to Italy are: École Ombrienne et Romaine, École Florentine, École Vénitienne, École Bolonaise, Écoles Milanaise, Lombarde, Ferraraise, Génoise, Napolitaine.

This important series was the work of Charles Blanc, with collaborators, among them was Paul Mantz. Its excellence is very unequal, and the illustrations are, most of them, unsatisfactory.

JARVES, JAMES JACKSON.—Art Hints. New York, 1855. Also Art Studies, The Old Masters of Italy, 1861; The Art Idea, 1864; Art Thoughts, 1871.

Mr. Jarves was one of the first to introduce to the attention of Americans the art of the early Italian masters, and a collection made by him of pictures of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is now in the possession of Yale University.

EASTLAKE, SIR CHARLES.—Materials for a History of Oil Painting. London, 1847–69.—Schools of Painting in Italy. London, 1851. This translation of Kugler has been already referred to.

RUSKIN, JOHN.—Modern Painters.—5 vols. London, 1851 and later editions.

Arbitrary and often arousing all one's opposition, but containing poetical and noble appreciation of some of the best Italian work.

CLÉMENT, CH.—De la peinture Italienne jusqu'à Fra Angelico. Paris, 1857.

CAMPORI, G.—Lettere artistiche inedite. Modena, 1866.

CROWE, J. A., and G. B. CAVALCASELLE.—History of Painting in Italy. 3 vols. London, 1864.—History of Painting in North Italy. 2 vols. London, 1871. The History of Painting was published in Italian as the Storia della Pittura Italiana. A new and augmented Italian edition is now appearing, and at the beginning of 1896 had reached the sixth volume and the life of Filippino Lippi. See the special Bibliography in the present work for the important books by these authors on Raphael and Titian.

The very admirable work of Crowe and Cavalcaselle is probably the most complete ever published upon the History of Painting. It is out of print and rare, and much of its phrasing is exceedingly obscure. It is greatly to be desired that these histories of painting should be re-edited by some English scholar who is familiar also

with the writings of Morelli (there are several such scholars in England who contribute to British and foreign periodicals, and whose knowledge of the private collections in England would add to their fitness as editors). The History of Painting and the History of Painting in North Italy, so edited, with annotations bringing the matter up to date, would be invaluable.

RIO, A. F. DE.—L'Art Chrétien. 8vo. Paris, 1841. 2 vols. Paris, 1855. vols. Paris, 1861.—L'Épilogue a l'Art Chrétien. 2 vols. Fribourg-en-Brisgau, 1870.

These books, treating chiefly of the early schools of Siena, of the Giotteschi, and of the fifteenth century, are very interesting and do not lack charm, but are fiercely partisan, the author going much farther than does even Mr. Ruskin in his condemnation of the later schools.

DELABORDE, HENRI.—Études sur les Beaux-Arts en France et en Italie. Paris, 1864.

The author is [illegible] t in the direction of the study of Italian engraving, and is an eloquent and able writer. See the Bibliography of Raphael and of Masaccio.

FOERSTER, E.—Geschichte der italienischen Kunst. 5 vols. Leipsic, 1869-78.—Denkmäler der Italienischen Malerei vom Verfall der Antike bis zum XVI. Jahrhundert. 4 folio volumes, plates and text.

MANTZ, PAUL.—Les Chefs-d'œuvre de la peinture italienne. Paris, 1870.

This is a large volume, containing a great number of reproductions. The author is one of the most enlightening of French art critics.

LÜBKE, WILHELM.—Geschichte der ital. Malerei vom vierten bis ins sechszehnten Jahrhundert. Stuttgart, 1878-79.

WOLTMANN, A., and WOERMANN, K.—History of Painting. Edited by Sidney Colvin. Translated by Clara Bell. 2 vols. London, 1880.

The original is the Geschichte der Malerei. A large part of either volume is given to Italian Art.

LAFENESTRE, GEORGES.—La Peinture Italienne. Paris. Les Maîtres anciens, Études d'histoire et d'art. Paris, 1882.—Les Maîtres de la Renaissance (written in collaboration with other authors). Les Origines de la Peinture décorative en Italie (in the Revue des Arts decoratifs, Vol. VI., pp. 9-19). See also the bibliography of Titian in the present volume.

Of La Peinture Italienne, one of the works belonging to the Bibliothèque de l' Enseignement des Beaux-Arts, the first volume only has yet appeared, including the art of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It is an admirable short history; perhaps there is no better in any language.

DOHME, ROBERT.—Kunst und Künstler des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit. 3 vols. Leipsic.

This is the well-known Dohme Series of Lives, written in collaboration by various German scholars. The English translation of selected lives is by A. H. Keane.

MORELLI, GIOVANNI (IVAN LERMOLIEFF).—Italian Masters in German Galleries, a critical essay on the Italian Pictures in the Galleries of Munich, Dresden, and Berlin, translated from the German by Mrs. Louise M. Richter. London, 1883. Italian Painters, a Critical Study of their Works;

translated from the German by Constance Jocelyn Ffoulkes. London, 1892. Vol. I. The Borghese and Doria-Pamfili Galleries in Rome. Vol. II. The Galleries of Munich and Dresden. There is an edition published in Italian, Gallerie di Monaco Dresda e Berlino, Bologna, 1886, and there are late German editions of Leipsic, 1891, comprising the Munich and Dresden pictures, and one of 1893, on the Berlin Gallery.

The famous critic, Giovanni Morelli, published his first essays in the Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst, 1874, 1875, 1876, under the pseudonym of Ivan Lermolieff; these were followed in 1880 by "Ein Kritischer versuch von Ivan Lermolieff ins Deutsche übersetzt von Johannes Schwartze," the "whole title being a mystification. This was the book translated by Mrs. Richter. The two later volumes are an amplification of the earlier essays, Borghese and Doria-Pamfili Galleries of Rome, and the Galleries of Munich and Dresden. The admirable index to these volumes is by Dr. J. P. Richter. Nominally the earlier work of Morelli is upon Italian pictures outside of Italy, but in reality it treats almost as much of art within the peninsula. Herr Otto Mündler has published a *beitrag* to Morelli's criticisms.

PHILLIPS, CLAUDE.—For a critical estimate of Morelli and his school, see the work of Mr. Claude Phillips, Giudizio intorno alla critica del Senatore Giov. Morelli, con alcuni commenti; traduzione di G. Frizzoni. Rome, 1891. (Originally published in "The Academy," 1894–95.)

Mr. Phillips is one of the most acute and critical of English writers upon the Renaissance. See also his articles in the English and Italian periodicals.

GILBERT, JOSIAH.—Landscape in Art before Claude and Salvator. London, 1885. Cadore or Titian's Country. London, 1869. Other studies upon the treatment of landscape in the work of the ancient masters are those of K. Woermann. Die Landschaft in die Kunst der Alten Völker, Munich, 1876, and Zimmermann, Die Landschaft in der Venezianischen Malerei bis zum Tode Tizian's. Leipsic, 1893.

NOLHAC DE.—Petites Notes sur l'Art italien. Paris, 1887

FOERSTER, R.—Lucian in der Renaissance. Kiel, 1886.—Die Verläumdung des Apelles in der Renaissance. Berlin, 1887.

These studies relate especially to certain works of Botticelli, Mantegna, and other fifteenth-century masters.

CHAMPLIN, J. D., and C. C. PERKINS.—Cyclopædia of Painters and Paintings. 4 vols. New York, 1887.

BODE, W.—La Renaissance au Musée de Berlin. (This is a series of eight articles in the Gazette des Beaux-Arts for 1888–89. It is catalogued also under the head of TRANSALPINE GALLERIES.)

STILLMAN, W. J.—Old Italian Masters. New York, 1892–93.

Mr. Stillman has lived for many years in Italy, and his studies, published originally in the Century Magazine, are accompanied by beautiful wood-cuts by Mr. Timothy Cole.

CHAMPEAUX, A. DE.—Histoire de la peinture décorative. Paris, 1890.

KENNER, FRIEDRICH.—Die Porträtsammlung des Erzherzog's Ferdinand von Tirol, die Italienischen Bildnisse. Jahrbuch . . . des Kaiserhauses, Vol. XII. Vienna, 1891.

A long article containing a great number of reproductions of historical portraits of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

FRIZZONI, G.—Arte Italiana del Rinascimento, Saggi critici. Milan, 1891.

This volume contains several collected articles, including the Arte Italiana nella Galleria Nazionale di Londra.

VENTURI, ADOLFO.—Nelle pinacoteche minori d'Italia. L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte, VI., pp. 409-418. 1893.

LAFARGE, JOHN.—Considerations on Painting. New York, 1895.

These lectures, given at the Metropolitan Museum of New York, in 1893, refer to art in general rather than to the special epoch of the Renaissance, but they are too subtle and admirable to be omitted from this list.

## DRAWINGS AND ENGRAVINGS OF THE RENAISSANCE.

OTTLEY, WILLIAM YOUNG.—The Italian School of Design. London, 1823.—The Early Florentine School. London, 1826. Collection of Fac-similes, 1826.

For the study of the drawings of the Renaissance, the autotype reproductions of Braun, Alinari, Ongania, and other publishers afford unequalled opportunity, since these autotypes are absolute fac-similes of the originals.

FISHER, R.—Introduction to a Catalogue of the early Italian Prints in the British Museum. London, 1886.

WICKHOFF, FRANZ.—Die italienischen Handzeichnungen die lombardische und die bolognesische Schule in the Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerh. Kaiserhauses, XII. 1891

BARTSCH, A.—Le peintre-graveur. In 21 vols., 8vo. Vienna and Leipsic, 1803-21.

DELABORDE, H.—La gravure en Italie avant Marc-Antoine. Paris.—Marc-Antoine Raimondi, Étude historique et critique suivie d'un catalogue raisonné des œuvres du Maître. Paris, 1888.

Excellent works with many illustrations.

LIPPMANN, F.—Die italienischen Holzschnitt in XV. Jahrhundert. Jahrb. d. K. P. K., pp. 3, 179, 305, Vol. V. 1884.

For works relating especially to engravings of Botticelli's illustrations to Dante, see Drs. Lippmann and Volkmann and M. Ephrussi in the bibliography of Botticelli.

## COSTUME AND FURNITURE.

In the study of Renaissance or Mediæval Art knowledge of styles in costume and furniture is very useful, and enables one to at once approximately date a work of art.

For furniture see under head of Art Periodicals, L'Arte Italiana De-

corativa, etc., and L'Art pour Tous. Nearly all art periodicals, which in any way include the secondary arts, have plates of Italian furniture, M. Havard's superb Dictionnaire de l'Ameublement, etc., has, however, but little referring to Italy. As to Costume, Cesare Vecellio's interesting book of figures, contemporaneous as to dress with the time of Veronese, Tintoretto, and with the last years of Titian's life, is an important source. Among other books see Viollet le Duc, Dictionnaire Raisonné du Mobilier Français, a work of the greatest learning and importance, but relating to France, and only collaterally to Italy, and ending with the fifteenth century. Racinet, Le Costume Historique, Paris, is in many volumes, two of which relate to Mediæval and Renaissance times. F. Hottenroth, 2 vols., Le Costume, French edition published by Guérinet, is a very handy history of costume, a great number of examples being grouped upon each page. The most artistic and most completely Italian books of costumes are the three volumes of Mercuri, Bonnard, and Le Chevallier Chevignard, a great number of the figures being taken from old Italian pictures. The works of Planché, Strutt, Fairholt (all on English costume), and of Jacquemart (French), and Hefner (German), refer but slightly to Italy. Of course the best documents for costume and furniture are old pictures, etc., themselves, but text-books are also desirable.

## REGIONAL ART OF ITALY; PROVINCES AND CITIES

### TUSCANY

#### DOCUMENTS FOR ART HISTORY, ETC.

MILANESI, G. and C. PINI.—Scrittura di Artisti. 3 vols., 4to. Florence, 1873. Documenti inediti dell' Arte toscana dal XII. al XVI. secolo, in Il Buonarroti. 1880 and following years.

No one has been a more diligent student of the Tuscan archives than the late Cavaliere Gaetano Milanesi. His publication of documents relating to Florentine and Sienese art has been invaluable. See the Life of Michelangelo.

MÜNTZ, EUGÈNE.—A travers La Toscane.

BELLE, H.—Les Petites Villes et le Grand Art en Toscane.

WEY, F.—Toscane et Ombrie. These three series of articles of MM. Müntz, Belle, and Wey, copiously illustrated, were published in Le Tour du Monde, Vols. XXXI., XXXVIII., XXXIX., XLIII., XLV., XLVI., and LXIII. They are of great interest, are very fully illustrated, and cover nearly all the cities of Tuscany.

#### ARCHITECTURE.

GRANDJEAN DE MONTIGNY, A. H. V., and FAMIN, A.—Renaissance italienne. Architecture Toscane principalement des XV^e^, XVI^e^ et XVII^e^ siècles. Paris, 1815 and 1874.

ROHAULT DE FLEURY, G.—La Toscane au Moyen Âge, architecture civile et militaire. Paris, 1870.—La Toscane au Moyen Âge. Lettres sur l'architecture civile et militaire en 1400. Paris, 1874.

GEYMULLER, H. VON, BARON.—Die Architektur der Renaissance in Toscana nach den Meistern geordnet. Munich, 1885 et seq.

This magnificent work, with large plates, plans, etc., was begun under the auspices of the *Societa di San Giorgio*. The text was by Baron von Geymüller, who was associated in the general work with Herren Carl von Stegmann, A. Widmann, F. O. Schultz, P. Hentschel, H. Gsell, and others. Herr Hans Stegmann continues the work which is still appearing and will be completed in 1897.

Herr von Geymüller is the author of several other important works. See the special Bibliographies which precede the Lives of Bramante of Urbino, of Raphael of Urbino, and of the Florentine architects Giuliano and Antonio da San Gallo.

GNAUTH and FOERSTER.—Die Bauwerke der Renaissance in Toscana. Vienna.

This work was never finished.

RASCHDORFF, J. C.—Palast-Architektur von Ober-Italien und Toscana vom XV. bis XVII. Jahrhundert. Berlin, 1883.

This Palast-Architektur comprises several volumes, the work of various authors, Raschdorff, Reinhart, and others upon Tuscany, Venice, Genoa, etc.

## SCULPTURE.

GOZZINI, V.—Monumenti sepolcrali della Toscana. Incisi da G. P. Lasinio. Florence, 1819. Folio, with plates.

PERKINS, C. C.—Tuscan Sculptors. 2 vols. London, 1864.

The earliest important general treatise written in English upon Tuscan sculpture of the Renaissance.

BODE, W.—Denkmäler der Renaissance Sculptur Toscanas. Munich, 1892. A really magnificent series of plates, folio size, in several volumes. The complete title is Denkmäler der Renaissance Sculptur Toscana's in historischen anordnung unter leitung von W. Bode. Herausgegeben von Fr. Bruckmann. Munich, 1892–94. (See also Dr. Bode's Italienische Bildhauer der Renaissance, Berlin, 1887; his Donatello à Padoue (this French translation is reviewed and edited by M. Yriarte), and his articles upon Italian sculpture, at the Berlin Gallery, which appeared in the Gazette des Beaux-Arts.)

NOTE. — No titles of works upon Painting have been grouped under the general head of Tuscany since the different cities of the province were so artistically important that separate books or articles have in most cases been given to them. This is especially true where painting is the subject in point, the Tuscan architects and sculptors having been more frequently treated collectively. See also the special Bibliography of the various Florentine, Sienese, and Cortonese painters in these volumes.

## FLORENCE

### ARCHITECTURE.

MOISÈ, F.—Illustrazione storico-artistica del Palazzo de' priori oggi Palazzo vecchio e dei monumenti della piazza. Florence, 1843. Santa Croce di Firenze, Illustrazione storico-artistica. 1845.

MARCHESE, V.—S. Marco, convento dei padri predicatori in Firenze, illustrato e inciso principalmente nei dipinti del B. Giovanni Angelico. Florence, 1853.

PASSERINI, LUIGI.—Storia degli Stabilimenti di beneficenza della città di Firenze. Florence, 1853.—Curiosità storica-artistiche fiorentine. Florence, 1866. Earlier works on Florentine Art are Lastri's Osservatore Fiorentino, 1776–78, and Etruria Pittrice, 1791–95.

MAZZANTI and DEL LUNGO.—Raccolta delle migliori Fabbriche antiche e Moderne di Firenze. Plates; text by del Badia. Florence, 1876.

CONTI, C.—Il Palazzo Pitti, la sua primitiva costruzione e successivi ingrandimenti. Florence, 1887.

GUASTI, CESARE.—La cupola di Santa Maria del Fiore, illustrata con i documenti dell' Archivio dell' opera secolare. Florence, 1857.—Santa Maria del Fiore; la costruzione della chiesa e del campanile; secondo i documenti tratti dall' Archivio dell' opera secolare e da quello di Stato. Florence, 1887. Una giunta e una correzione al mio libro "Santa Maria del Fiore la costruzione della chiesa e del campanile secondo i documenti, ecc." Nell' Archivio Storico italiano, serie V., i., n. 165. Florence, 1888.

GRUYER, F. A.—Les Œuvres d'art de la Renaissance italienne au temple de Saint-Jean, baptistère de Florence. Paris, 1875.

YRIARTE, C.—Florence. Paris, 1881.

FREY, C.—Die Loggia dei Lanzi zu Florenz. Berlin, 1885.

CAVALLUCCI, C. J. — S. Maria del Fiore, Storia documentata dall' origine fino ai nostri giorni. Florence, 1881.—S. M. del Fiore e la Sua Facciata. Florence, 1887.

A great many works were published regarding the cathedral just after the unveiling of the new *façade*. For the titles of twenty-seven works relating to the subject see L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte for 1888; first number, pp. 55–56.

MORO, LUIGI DEL.—La facciata di S. Maria del Fiore. Florence, 1888. (See Bibliography of Brunelleschi for the fine monograph of Herr Von Fabriczy.)

### SCULPTURE.

MASSELLI, G.—Il tabernacolo d'Or San Michele (with Lasinio's engravings). Florence, 1851 and 1874.

MILANESI, G.—Della tavola di Nostra Donna nel Tabernacolo d'Or S. Michele e del suo vero autore. Florence, 1870. (See also the Bibliography of Andrea Orgagna.)

YRIARTE, CHARLES.—Masaccio, Journal d'ùn sculpteur Florentin au XVe siècle. (For the Pisani and Civitale see under the head of PISA and of LUCCA.)

SCHÖNFELD.—Andrea Sansovino und seine Schule. Stuttgart, 1881.

PLON, EUGÈNE.—Benvenuto Cellini, orfèvre, medailleur, sculpteur; recherches sur sa vie, sur son œuvre et sur les pièces qui lui sont attribuées. Paris, 1883. Nouvel Appendice, 1884. (The Maison Quantin has published an elaborately illustrated translation by Leclanché of Cellini's Memoirs.)

BONNAFFÉ, EDMOND.—Benvenuto Cellini. Gazette des Beaux-Arts. Second Period, XXVII., pp. 105–122.

DESJARDINS, A., and FOUCQUES DE VAGNONVILLE.—La Vie et l'Œuvre de Jean Bologna. Paris, 1883.

SCHMARSOW, A.—Vier Statuetten im Domopera zu Florenz. Jahrb. d. K. P. K., pp. 137, Vol. VIII. 1887.

VENTURI, ADOLFO.—Francesco di Simone Fiesolano. L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte., V., pp. 371–386. 1892.

SCHMARSOW, A.—Bemerkungen über Niccolò d'Arezzo Jahrbuch. d. K. P. K. VIII. iv.

ROSSI, UMBERTO.—Il Museo Nazionale di Firenze nel triennio, 1889–91.—L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte, VI., pp. 1–24. 1893.

REYMOND, MARCEL.—La Sculpture Florentine au XIVe siècle. Important series of articles begun in the Gazette des Beaux-Arts for 1893, first vol., p. 352, continued through many numbers, and still appearing as La Sculpture Florentine du XVme Siècle, etc. For Florentine sculptors see also the bibliography of the Pisani, Orgagna, Della Robbia, Donatello, Ghiberti, Verrocchio, Michelangelo, etc.

PAINTING.

GOTTI, A.—Le Gallerie ed i Musei di Firenze, con documenti. Florence, 1875.

BRADLEY, J. W.—The Life and Works of Giulio Clovio, Miniaturist. London, 1881.

RUSKIN, J.—Val d' Arno. Ten Lectures on the Tuscan art directly antecedent to the Florentine year of victories. 1882.—Ariadne Florentina—Mornings in Florence.

These "Mornings," etc., do not lack charm, but are arbitrary to an extreme degree.

YRIARTE, C. E.—Florence. Paris, 1881, and London, 1882.

A folio, with many illustrations.

GOTTI, A.—Del Trionfo di S. Tommaso d'Aquino, dipinto nel cappellone degli Spagnuoli, antico Capitolo de' Frati di Santa Maria Novella in Firenze. Florence, 1887. (For the Chapel of the Spaniards see also the works of Rio, Ruskin, and Lord Lindsay.)

CLEMENT, C.—Michelange L. de Vinci, Raphael. Paris, 1861. [For the monographs in the "Great Artists" series, and in the series "Les Artistes Celèbres," see the Bibliographies prefixed to special Lives in these volumes; for Florentine Bibliography nearly half of the Lives can be consulted.]

RIDOLFI, ENRICO.—Di Alcuni ritratti delle gallerie fiorentine. L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte, IV., pp. 425–455. 1891.

KÁROLY, KARL.—A Guide to the Paintings of Florence. London, 1893. (The various government catalogues of the Florentine galleries, Uffizi, Pitti, Museo Nazionale (Bargello), Galleria Buonarroti, R. Galleria Antica e Moderna (Academy), etc., may also be consulted.)

LAFENESTRE, G., and E. RICHTENBERGER.—La peinture en Europe—Florence. (With one hundred illustrations.) Paris.

An admirable "catalogue raisonné" of the paintings in the Florentine museums, churches, and palaces.

BERENSON, B.—The Florentine Painters of the Renaissance. New York, 1896.

A short but important essay, with a catalogue of the works of the Florentine painters.

The subject of the History of the Florentine Renaissance is also included in the general histories of Florence by Napier (6 vols., London), by Trollope, by Villari, and of Capponi (in Italian). Nardi, Varchi, Guicciardini, and Machiavelli are famous Florentine historians of the actual epoch of the Renaissance, while for the period of the early schools of Giotto and his followers we have the contemporaneous history of the Villani and the Chronicle of Dino Compagni, as well as the voluminous and learned modern work, the Italian Republics of Sismondi. One volume of Michelet's History of France is given to a sympathetic and powerful appreciation of the Italian Renaissance, and Edgar Quinet's work on the Revolutions of Italy is remarkable at once for its eloquence, penetration, and breadth. Certain biographical studies are also of interest to the student of the Renaissance. Among these are Trollope's very entertaining "Decade of Italian Women," and his "Catherine de' Medici," and Villari's Savonarola; also his Machiavelli, 3 vols. Mrs. Oliphant's "Makers of Florence" and "Makers of Venice," Roscoe's Lorenzo de' Medici and Leo X. are well known. See also the Lorenzo de' Medici of Von Reumont. Besides Villari's books on Savonarola, see the excellent work of M. Gruyer on Savonarola's influence upon art. Among books upon Florence which are partly historical, partly in the nature of guides, are the popular Walks in Florence of the Misses Horner, London, 1873 and 1884, and Hare's Florence, published in his Cities of Northern and Central Italy, and also separately. Dr. Giuseppe Marcotti's Guide Souvenir de Florence is the work of a scholar, as are also the Nuova Guida of Sig. Cavallucci and the Dintorni di Firenze of Sig. Carocci. See also Il Centro di Firenze, Marcotti's Mercante Fiorentino, Florence, 1881, and Baciotti's Firenze Illustrata, 4 vols. Florence, 1886. Mr. W. D. Howells, in Tuscan Cities, gives a charming series of sketches in which Tuscan history and modern Tuscan life occupy an equal space.

### PRATO

HENRI BELLE.—Les Petites Villes et le Grand Art en Toscane, Prato. Le Tour de Monde. Vol. XXXVIII., pp. 225–34.

### PISTOJA

DARCEL, ALFRED.—Les Autels de Pistoja et de Florence. Gazette des Beaux-Arts, Second Period, XXVII., 19. January 1, 1883. (See for Pistoja the very full articles of M. Henri Belle, Les Petites Villes et le Grand Art en Toscane, in Le Tour du Monde, Vol. XXXVIII. See also the Bibliography of Della Robbia.)

### PISA

#### ARCHITECTURE.

MORRONA, A. DA.—Pisa illustrata. Leghorn, 1812.

ROHAULT DE FLEURY, G.—Les monuments de Pise au Moyen Âge. One volume of text and one of plates. Paris, 1866.

#### SCULPTURE.

LASINIO, P.—Raccolta di sarcofagi, urne e altri monumenti di scultura del Campo Santo di Pisa. With plates. Pisa, 1814.

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FÖRSTER, ERNST.—Die Wandgemälde der St. Georgen Kapelle zu Padua. Berlin, 1841. (For the Scuola del Santo, etc., see Bibliography of Titian.)

GONZATI.—La Basilica di Sant' Antonio di Padova descritta ed illustrata. Padua, 1852-53. (See the Bibliography of Donatello for his works in Sant' Antonio.)

PIETRUCCI.—Biografia degli Artisti Padovani. Padua, 1859.

SELVATICO, P. E.—Guida di Padova e dei suoi principali contorni. Padua, 1869.

BODE, WILHELM.—Lo Scultore Bartolommeo Bellano da Padova. L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte, Vol. IV., pp. 397-416. 1891. (See also by the same author, with M. Yriarte as collaborator, Donatello à Padoue and the splendid plates in the Sculptur Toscana's.)

SCHLOSSER, J. VON.—Giusto's Fresken in Padua. Jahrbuch . . . des Kaiserhauses (Austrian Annuary), XVII., pp. 13-100. 1896.

A long and important article upon the work of Giotto, Andrea Pisano, and other early masters, considered as the forerunners of Raphael.

## VENICE

### ARCHITECTURE.

CICOGNARA, L.—Le Fabbriche le più conspicue di Venezia. Venice, 1815–1820. Edition of 1833–40, Cicognara, Diedo, and Selva. Edition of 1856 with notes by Zanotto and with a French version. 2 vols., 4to and Atlas.

SELVATICO, P. E.—Studi sulla architettura e sulla scultura in Venezia dal Medio evo sino ai nostri giorni. Venice, 1847.

ZANOTTO, F.—Il Palazzo ducale di Venezia illustrato. Four vols. in six. Plates. Venice, 1846–61.

RUSKIN, JOHN.—Stones of Venice. Three vols. London, 1851.

The first edition contains beautiful illustrations. In the Stones of Venice there is much partiality and prejudice, much poetry and many passages which may even be called magnificent. M. Müntz speaks of these volumes as "the strange and genial work of Mr. Ruskin."

LORENZI.—Monumenti per servire alla storia del Palazzo ducale di Venezia. Venice, 1868. Folio.

An important work.

PAOLETTI, PIETRO.—L'Architettura e la scultura del rinascimento in Venezia; ricerche storico-artistiche. Venice, 1893. (Storia dell' Arte a Venezia.)

SACCARDO, F.—Les Mosaiques de Saint Marc, par F. Saccardo, Directeur des travaux de restauration et de l l'atelier de Mosaiques de la Basilique. Venice, 1897.

ONGANIA, FERD., PUBLISHER.—La Basilica di San Marco in Venezia. Venice, 1878–95. 2 vols., large folio, 14 vols. in quarto, including text, documents, etc. (Signor Camillo Boito is the editor; the text is in Italian, French, and English. The work comprises a great number of fine plates in color and of photo-engravings of detail, sculptures, mosaics, altars, etc., while twenty-one of the plates form an illustration of the complete *façade*. The text contains documents from the State Archives, the Marciana, etc. Certain among the volumes which make up the work are also published separately; such are the Procession of the Doge on Palm Sunday; La Pala d'Oro by G. Veludo; Il Tesoro di S. Marco by Antonio Pasini; one hundred plates, French text, by E. Molinier. For further works published or in preparation, such as the Palazzo Ducale, by Camillo Boito; Santa Maria dei Miracoli, by P. Paoletti, see the catalogue of Sig. Ongania. There are interesting publications upon the well-curbs of Venice and upon the chimneys, in fact the indefatigable publisher apparently proposes to illustrate the entire city.)

GIANUIZZI, PIETRO.—Giorgio da Sebenico architetto e scultore vissuto nel secolo XV. L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte, VII., pp. 397–454. 1894.

Giorgio da Sebenico is here classed under the head of Venice as being a native of a town subject to Venice. The article is long and important. See also Life of Michelozzo in the present work.

REINHARDT, R.—Palast-Architektur von Ober-Italien. (Volume on Venice.)

## SCULPTURE.

MEYER, A. G.—Das venetianische Grabdenkmal der Frührenaissance. Leipsic.

VENTURI, ADOLFO.—Pietro Lombardo, Architetto e Scultore Veneziano. L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte, pp. 433–443. 1888. (For Venetian decorative sculpture see the sumptuously illustrated periodical edited by Sig. Camillo Boito, L'Arte Decorativa e Industriale Italiana.)

MOLINIER, ÉMILE.—Venise, Ses arts décoratifs, ses Musées et ses collections. Paris, 1889.

## PAINTING.

ZANOTTO, F.—Storia della Pittura Veneziana. Venice, 1834. Later edition, 1837.—Pinacoteca veneta; ossia, I migliori dipinti delle chiese di Venezia. 4to, 2 vols., plates. Venice, 1867. Earlier edition, 1858.

BEVILACQUA, G. C.—Insigne pinacoteca della nobile veneta famiglia Barbarigo dalla Terrazza, descritta ed illustrata. Venice, 1845.

LAZARI, V.—Notizia delle opere d'arte e d'antichità della raccolta Correr di Venezia. Venice, 1859.

RUSKIN, JOHN.—Modern Painters. Many different editions.

Mr. Ruskin is often misleading when speaking as a critic, since he dislikes much that is good in art, but he never admires the unworthy, and when he does admire, no one writes more poetically or inspiringly. Some of his pages upon Tintoretto surpass in beauty the works which he praises.

SCOTT, W. B.—Pictures by Venetian Painters. London and New York, 1875.

GALICHON.—Jacopo de Barbarj, dit le Maître au Caducée. Paris, 1861.

EPHRUSSI, C.—Notes biographiques sur Jacopo de Barbari. Paris, 1876.

MOLMENTI, P. G.—Le origini della pittura Veneta. Venice, 1890.

BOTTI, G.—Catalogo delle RR. Gallerie di Venezia. Venice, 1891.

BOTTEON and ALIPRANDI.—Ricerche intorno alla vita ed alle opere di Giambattista Cima. Conegliano, 1895. For other monographs relating to Venetian painters see in the present work the Bibliography of the lives of the Bellini, of Carpaccio, Giorgione, Palma, Lotto, Veronese, Tintoretto, and Titian.

EASTLAKE, C. L.—Notes on the principal pictures in the Royal Gallery (R. Accademia di Belle Arti) at Venice. London, 1888.

BERENSON, B.—The Venetian Painters of the Renaissance. New York, 1894.

Containing a catalogue of paintings of the school of Venice.

KÁROLY, KARL.—The Paintings of Venice. London, 1895.

DÜRER.—[Albert Dürer à Venise et dans les Pays-Bas], Autobiographie. Paris, 1866. (See also for his relations with the schools of Venice, the lives of Dürer, by H. Grimm, Berlin, 1874; M. Thausing, Leipsic, 1876, and English edition, London, 1882; R. F. Heath, London, 1886; Charles Ephrussi, Paris, 1882.)

### MINOR ARTS, ARCHÆOLOGY, HISTORY, ESSAYS, ETC.

CICOGNA, E. A.—Delle Iscrizioni Veneziane. 6 vols., folio. Venice, 1824–65.

YRIARTE, C.—Venise, Histoire, Art, etc. Paris, 1878. Folio, with plates. —Vie d'un Patricien de Venise au XVI^e^. siècle.

Two charming articles by Mr. Henry James, Venice, published in the Century Magazine, November, 1882, and The Grand Canal, published in Scribner's Magazine, November, 1892, deserve a high place in the literature which treats of the general spirit of Venetian Art.

URBANI DE GHELTOF, G. M.—Les arts industriels à Venise au moyen âge et à la renaissance, traduction de A. Cruvellié. Venice, 1885. Il palazzo di Camillo Trevisan a Murano. Folio, 77 plates. Venice, 1890. Venezia dal-alto. (A work upon Venetian chimneys.) Venice, 1892.

MOLMENTI, P. G.—La Storia di Venezia nella vita privata. Dalle origini alla caduta della republica. Turin, third edition, 1885. Second French edition, in 3 volumes. (See also in the Bibliography of the Bellini and of Carpaccio.)

BASCHET, A.—La Diplomatie vénitienne au XVI^e^ siècle.

Hardly any documents are more valuable to the student of history than the letters of Venetian ambassadors. Venice seems to have been as successful in ferreting out the secrets of other states as she was in keeping her own. These documents bear, at times, upon Venetian art as well as upon other matters.

CECCHETTI, B.—Saggio di cognomi ed autografi di Artisti in Venezia. Venice, 1887.

LUZIO, A.—Pietro Aretino nei primi suoi anni a Venezia e la corte dei Gonzaga. Turin, 1888.

GAUTHIEZ, P.—L'Italie du XVI^e^ siècle. L'Aretin, Paris, 1896.

RIVOLI, DUC DE.—Bibliographie des Livres a figures vénitiens . . . 1469–1525. Paris, 1892.

### VICENZA

MOLMENTI, P. G.—Tiepolo; la villa Valmarana. Venice, 1880. (For Vicenza see also the works of Palladio.)

### BASSANO

BRENTARI, O.—Il Museo di Bassano illustrato. Bassano, 1881.

### TREVISO

FEDERICI, D. M.—Memorie Trevigiane, etc. 2 vols. Venice, 1803.

### UDINE

MANIAGO, F. DI.—Storia delle belle arti friulane. Venice, 1819. Udine, 1823.

FRIZZONI, G.—La Pinacoteca Scarpa di Motta di Livenza. L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte, VIII., pp. 409–422. 1895.

MANZANO, F. DI.—Cenni biografici dei Letterati ed artisti friulani dal Secolo IV. al XIX. Udine, 1885.

### VERONA

ZANNANDREIS, D.—Le vite dei pittori, scultori ed architetti veronesi pubbl. c. pref. da G. Biadego. Verona, 1891.

RONZANI and LUCIOLLI.—Le fabbriche civili, Ecclesiastiche e militari di Michele San Micheli. Venice, 1832.

This large folio contains Zanotto's text. Sammicheli may be classed under the head of either Verona or Venice.

BERNASCONI.—Studj sopra la Storia della Pittura Italiana . . . della Scuola pittorica Veronese. Verona, 1865.

### BRESCIA

FENAROLI.—Dizionario degli Artisti bresciani. Brescia, 1877.

FRIZZONI, GUSTAVO.—La pinacoteca communale Martinengo in Brescia. L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte, II., pp. 24-33. 1889.—Collezione di 40 disegni scelti dalla Raccolta del Senatore Giovanni Morelli, descritti ed illustrati dal Dott. Gus. Frizzoni. Milan, 1886.

### BERGAMO

LOCATELLI, P.—Illustri Bergamaschi, Vol. III. Bergamo, 1879.

MEYER, A. G.—Die Colleoni-Kapelle zu Bergamo. Jahrb. d. K. P. K., XV., p. 5. 1894. (See also the article Bergamo and Bartolommeo Colleone in Symonds's Sketches and Studies in Southern Europe, Vol. II., p. 201. New York, 1880.)

### MILAN

CALVI.—Notizie sulla vita e sulle opere dei principali architetti scultori e pittori che fiorirono in Milano durante il governo dei Visconti e degli Sforza. Milan, 1859-69. In three parts.

This work is criticised as perpetuating many errors which have been corrected in other authors' books.

MONGERI, G.—L'Arte in Milano. Milan, 1872.—Artisti Lombardi a Roma nei secoli XV., XVI. e XVII. Studi e Ricerche negli Archivi Romani. Milan, 1881.

This work might be equally well catalogued under the head of ROME.

#### ARCHITECTURE.

PARAVACINI.—L'Architecture de la Renaissance en Lombardie. Folio. (See also, for Lombard architecture, Gruner, Ottolini, and Loeser; under the head of GENERAL WORKS, ARCHITECTURE; also the Archivio Storico Lombardo. For the cathedral of Milan see Bregolo, Annali della Fabbrica del Duomo, etc. Milan, 1877-85. Nine 4to volumes, and Nava's Memorie, etc. Milan, 1853. See also for other Milanese buildings the Lives of Bramante and Michelozzo; see for very early Lombard architecture F. de Dartein, Études sur l'architecture Lombarde et sur les origines de l'architecture Romano-Byzantine. Paris, 1865-82. F. Osten, Die Bauwerke in der Lombardei vom 7 bis zum 14 Jahrhundert. Frankfort, 1847.)

BELTRAMI, L.—Il Castello di Milano sotto il dominio dei Visconti e degli Sforza, 1378–1535. Milan, 1894.—La Cappella di San Pietro Martire presso la Basilica di Sant' Eustorgio in Milano. L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte, V., pp. 267–291. 1892.

The study upon the Castello is an important and learned work.

SCULPTURE.

PLON, E.—Les Maitres italiens au service de la maison d'Autriche. Leone Leoni, sculpteur de Charles-Quint, et Pompeo Leoni, sculpteur de Philippe II. Paris, 1887.

An important and admirable work; see also Albert Ilg. Die Werke Leone Leoni's, Jahrb. . . . des Kaiserhauses V., part I., pp. 65–89.

VENTURI, ADOLFO.—Gian Cristoforo Romano. L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte Italiana, I., pp. 49–59, 107–118, 148–158. 1888.

VALTON.—Gian Cristoforo Romano médailleur italien. Paris, 1885.

CASATI, C.—Leone Leoni d'Arezzo, scultore, e Giov. Paolo Lomazzo, pittore milanese. Milan, 1884.

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Fondazione Artistica Poldi-Pezzoli, Catalogo generale. Milan, 1881.

COLOMBO, G.—Vita ed Opere di Gaudenzio Ferrari. Turin, 1881.

EASTLAKE, CHARLES L.—Notes on the Principal Pictures in the Louvre Gallery at Paris, and in the Brera Gallery at Milan. London, 1883.

FRIZZONI, GUSTAVO.—Il Museo Borromeo in Milano. L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte, III., pp. 345–365. 1890.

REYMOND, M.—Cesare da Sesto. Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 3d period, XIV., pp. 314–333. 1892.

MARAZZA, AMBROGIO.—I Cenacoli di Gaudenzio Ferrari. L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte, V., pp. 143–175. 1892.

CAROTTI, G.—Catalogo della R. Pinacoteca di Milano (Palazzo Brera). Milan, 1892.

This catalogue is the work of a well known scholar.

FRIZZONI, G.—La Pinacoteca di Brera e il suo Nuovo Catalogo. L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte, V., pp. 399–406. 1892.

SANT AMBROGIO, DIEGO DA.—Bernardino de' Rossi, in . . . Milano. L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte, VIII., pp. 20–32, 1895. (For the province of Milan see also the Bibliographies of Leonardo da Vinci and of Giovannantonio de' Bazzi.)

PAVIA

CAFFI.—Il Castello di Pavia. From the Archivio Storico Lombardo. 1876.

DURELLI, GAETANO and FRANCESCO.—La Certosa di Pavia descritta ed illustrata. Folio with plates in outline engraving. Milan, 1863.

### MONZA

SACCHI, A., and CERUTI, G.—Il palazzo del comune detto "Arengario." Monza. Con prefazione, aggiunte e disegni di Luca Beltrami. Milan, 1890.

### PIACENZA

AMBIVERI.—Gli Artisti Piacentini. Piacenza, 1879.

### LODI

CAFFI, M.—Di alcuni pittori lodigiani dell' 1400, etc. 1875.—Degli artisti lodigiani. Milan, 1878.

SANT AMBROGIO, D.—Il tempio della Beata Vergine Incoronata di Lodi. Milan, 1892.

With fine photo-engraved plates.

### CREMONA

COURAJOD, L.—Documents sur l'histoire des arts et des artistes à Crémone aux quinzième et seizième siècles. Paris, 1885.

SACCHI.—Notizie pittoriche cremonesi. Cremona, 1872.

### VERCELLI

COLOMBO, G.—Documenti e Notizie intorno agli Artisti vercellesi. Vercelli, 1883.

### VARESE

RAHN.—Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft. 1880. Vol. III., part 4.

CAFFI.—Di Alcuni Architettetti e Scultori della Svizzera Italiana. Archivio Storico Lombardo, 1885–86.

BERTOLOTTI, A.—Artisti Svizzeri in Roma, nei secoli XV., XVI., XVII. Bellinzona, 1886.

PELUSO, F.—La Chiesa di Castiglione e le opera D'Arte che contiene. Milan, 1874.

DIEGO DI SANT AMBROGIO.—Castiglione d'Olona. Milan, 1893.

Text and many illustrations.

BELTRAMI, L.—Bernardino Luini e la Pelucca. L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte, VIII., pp. 5–19, 1895. (For the great artist, Bernardino Luini, merely mentioned by Vasari as Bernardino del Lupino, see G. Lafenestre in Les Maitres anciens. Article reprinted from Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1870. See also Karl Brun in the Dohme series, the latest catalogue of the Brera, and M. Müntz in La Fin de la Renaissance. Also, under the head of MILAN, see Grüner.)

VESME, A.—Matteo Sanmicheli. Scultore e architetto cinquecentista. L' Archivio Storico dell' Arte, VIII., 1895, pp. 274–321.

Long article upon a sculptor of Porlezza near Lugano. Matteo was a cousin of San Micheli, the famous architect who settled in Verona and Venice.

FRIZZONI, G.—L'Arte in Val Sesia. L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte, XV., pp. 313–327. 1891. Under this head of VARESE have been grouped works referring to the different artists of the Northern Lake districts, and the Italian Switzerland.

**COMO**

BARELLI.—Monumenti Comaschi. Como, 1889.

There is also an Archivio Storico for the province of Como.

MERZARIO.—I Maestri comacini. Storia artistica di mille ducento anni (600–1800). Milan, 1893.

**GENOA**

BELGRANO.—Della Vita privata dei Genovesi. Genoa. Second edition, 1875.

GAUTHIER.—Les plus beaux Édifices des Gênes. Paris, 1850.

REINHART.—Palast Architektur Von Ober Italien. Genua. Berlin, 1886.

ALIZERI, F.—Notizie dei professori del disegno in Liguria dalle origini al secolo XVI. 6 vols., 8vo. Genoa, 1870–80.—By the same author, Guida illustrata . . . di Genova. Genoa, 1875.

FRIZZONI, GUSTAVO.—La raccolta Galliera in Genova. L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte, III., pp. 119–126. 1890. (E. Jacobsen has an article in one of the latest numbers of the Archivio Storico dell' Arte on the Brignole-Sala Gallery of Genoa.)

**SAVONA**

CAROTTI, G.—La Gran Pala del Foppa nell Oratorio di S. M. di Castello in Savona. L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte, VIII., pp. 449–465. 1895.

**MONFERRATO**

VESME, A.—Giovan francesco Caroto alla Corte di Monferrato. L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte, VIII., pp. 33–42. 1895.

## TRANSALPINE GALLERIES.

MADRID, Dresden, Paris, London, Vienna, St. Petersburg, Munich, possess the largest transalpine collections of Italian pictures, and the character of these collections varies in accordance with their dates and with the historic conditions which have affected them. The pictures at Madrid are an heirloom from the time when the House of Austria held Spain, the Netherlands, and much of Germany and Italy. Vienna has naturally shared in the good fortunes of Spain, and some of the art-wealth of Charles V. has overflowed into the galleries of Buda-Pesth.

The Italian pictures at Dresden are largely the result of a Ducal sale, fortunate for Germany, unfortunate for Parma and Modena, made in the eighteenth century. The collections of the Louvre have grown steadily from the days of the acquisitions of Francis I. to those of the last donation. London and Berlin commenced late to collect, but at a fortunate time when the works of the primitive masters could still be bought. One of the results is that their

pictures maintain a very high average, and that space and light are not sacrificed upon inferior works as is to a certain extent the case in some of the other transalpine galleries.

The installation of the NATIONAL GALLERY is admirable; everything can be seen, and were it not for the glass placed over the paintings, everything could be well seen. This glass is, however, a necessity, and it must be admitted that the pictures gain (in a certain appearance of depth and richness) as well as lose by its presence.

Among works referring to the Italian schools as represented in the National Gallery are Dr. J. P. Richter's Italian Art in the National Gallery. London, 1883. (For Dr. Richter's important books upon Leonardo da Vinci, see the Bibliography of that artist in Vol. II. of the present work. Among his other publications have been the 2d edition, 1880, and 3d edition, 1892, of the Dulwich Gallery Catalogue, edited in collaboration with J. C. L. Sparks.—Die Mosaiken von Ravenna. Vienna, 1878.—The Sculptures of the *Façade* of St. Mark's at Venice. Macmillan's Magazine. June, 1880.—Recent Criticism on Raphael, in the Nineteenth Century for September, 1887.—The Guilds of the Early Italian Painters. Nineteenth Century, 1890.) Dr. Gustavo Frizzoni's Arte Italiana nella Galleria Nazionale di Londra, Florence, reprinted in his L'Arte Italiana del Rinascimento, and the same author's article in the Archivio Storico dell' Arte Italiana, VIII., 1895, pp. 87-105, on recent acquisitions made by the National Gallery; M. M. Reiset, La National Gallery en 1886; Mr. Cosmo Monkhouse, The Italian Pre-Raphaelites, London, 1887, and In the National Gallery, London, 1895; Mr. E. T. Cook, A Popular Hand-book to the National Gallery, London, 1888; Mr. Claude Phillips, Les dernières acquisitions de la National Gallery, Gazette des Beaux-Arts. Second Period, XXXIV., pp. 487-491. See also the excellent "Descriptive and Historical Catalogue" of the pictures in the National Gallery (Foreign Schools) and the Supplementary Catalogue. For the discussion of the famous Assumption of the Virgin, the so-called "heretical picture," in the National Gallery which is there attributed to Botticelli, but which by Ulmann and others is accredited to Botticini, see the Archivio Storico dell' Arte Italiana for 1896, p. 58, article by Signor Diego Angeli.

Every student of the Italian Renaissance must be grateful to the authorities controlling the SOUTH KENSINGTON MUSEUM for the superb collection of records, copies, casts, etc., which enhance the value of the Museum even more than do the originals shown there. The beautiful models made after the Cambio of Perugia, Sant' Eustorgio of Milan, the Borgia Apartments, etc., are invaluable assistants to the comprehension of Renaissance Decoration. Among the Hand-books of the Museum are the admirable works, Italian Sculpture of the Middle Ages, and Period of the Revival of Art, by Sir J. C. Robinson, London, 1862, and Catalogue of the Bronzes, by Mr. Drury-Fortnum, London, 1876. See also Mr. Claude Phillips, The South Kensington Museum, in The Academy, 1893, II., 324; Mr. M. D. Conway's Travels in South Kensington Museum, London, 1882.

Among books upon the BRITISH MUSEUM, see Mr. Sidney Colvin's Reproductions of Drawings by Old Masters, London, 1888-91; Mr. Louis Fagan's Handbook to the Department of Prints and Drawings, with . . . notices of the

different schools, London, 1876; Guide to the Italian medals exhibited in the King's Library, and the excellent book of the late Richard Fisher; Introduction to a Catalogue of Early Italian Prints in the British Museum, London, 1886.

For the HAMPTON COURT collection of pictures, see Mr. E. Law's Historical Hand-book; Sir Henry Coles's Hand-book to Hampton Court, London, 1884; but especially the recent and important hand-book of Mrs. Mary Logan, and the Picture Gallery of Charles I., by Mr. Claude Phillips, Portfolio. London, January, 1896. The exhibitions of Italian pictures, lent from private collections, are a remarkable feature in England. For long studies upon these exhibitions see Mr. Claude Phillips, in the Gazette des Beaux-Arts, Second Period, XXXIII., pp. 160-65; Third period, VII., 1892, pp. 157-64; Second Period, XXXV., p. 256; 3d series, IX., p. 223, 1893; 3d series, XIII., p. 346, 1895, and the same author's Old Masters at the Royal Academy, published in The Academy, 1892, I., 450, 499, 548; 1893, I., 17; 1894, 17, 64, 107; 1896, I., 41, 81, 120, and Exposition des Maîtres Anciens et de la New Gallery à Londres, Chronique des Arts, 1895, p. 217. Miss Constance Jocelyn Ffoulkes, Le Esposizioni d'Arte Italiana a Londra, in the Archivio Storico dell' Arte Italiana, VII., 1894, pp. 153-76, and 249-268, and L'Esposizione dell' Arte Veneta a Londra, L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte, VIII., 1895, pp. 70-86 and 247-267. Adolfo Venturi, L'Arte Emiliana al Burlington Fine Arts Club di Londra, L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte Italiana, VII., 1894, pp. 89-106. See also Prof. Sidney Colvin, Old Masters at the Winter Exhibitions, the Nineteenth Century, February, 1879; Mr. Bernhard Berenson, Venetian Painters, chiefly before Titian, at the exhibition of Venetian Art, the New Gallery, 1895. London, 1895. Among the studies upon other paintings and drawings, see Mr. Berenson in The Academy, for 1893, I., 270; "The Glasgow Giorgione" and Sir J. C. Robinson's Drawings of the Great Masters (Malcolm, Warwick, and Locker Collections), London, 1868; Descriptive Catalogue (Malcolm Collection), London, 1876; London Corporation Art Gallery (sculptor-goldsmiths and gem-engravers), 1895; Our National Art Collections and Provincial Art Museums, the Nineteenth Century for June, 1880; Our National Museums and Art Galleries, London, 1892. Mr. (now Sir) J. C. Robinson makes, in addition to his catalogues to other collections cited above, an important contribution to the study of Renaissance drawings, in his "critical account of the Drawings by Michael Angelo and Raffaello in the University Galleries, Oxford, 1870." That very important side of Renaissance art which is expressed in the drawings made as preparatory studies for pictures has received especial attention in England. Less than a century after Vasari got together the contents of his famous book of drawings, King Charles the First and the Earl of Arundel were already collectors of the designs of the ancient masters.

Drawings and sketches are, very naturally, peculiarly attractive to artists, so that it is not surprising to find the names of Sir Peter Lely and Sir Joshua Reynolds among those of noted amateurs, but the existence of the collection of Sir Thomas Lawrence should be a matter of pride to every painter.

This almost unrivalled collection passed through vicissitudes which reflected little credit upon the artistic taste, not only of England, but of all Europe; however, partly by accident and largely by the efforts of a few en-

lightened amateurs, many of the most important works in Sir Thomas Lawrence's collection are now in the galleries of his native country, while the University of Oxford owes to him the "most important series of the drawings of Michel Angelo and Raffaello now extant" (the latter were purchased in 1845). If to these are added the designs at Windsor and in the British Museum, it will be seen that the English collections may for the importance, if not for the number of examples, shown, take rank with the most notable European collections of designs of the ancient masters, such as those in the Uffizi at Florence, the Louvre, and the Albertina of Vienna.

For the contributions to Art Literature by other English writers, Sir Charles Eastlake, Lady Eastlake, Mr. C. L. Eastlake, Mr. Ruskin, Pater, Symonds, Mr. Walter Armstrong, Sir E. J. Poynter, etc., see the various special Bibliographies in the present work. Dr. G. F. Waagen, Treasures of Art in Great Britain, London, 1854–57, and Passavant, in his Kunstreise, were among the earlier writers on English Art, and Sir Joshua Reynolds, a century before them, gave a powerful stimulus to the study of the Italian Masters. In our times the Arundel Society must be especially mentioned for its many publications.

To the English-speaking student the LOUVRE and the NATIONAL GALLERY are more familiar than are any other collections. The pictures in the Louvre are overcrowded and not always well lighted, but it offers a long chronological succession and is rich in master-pieces. See the catalogue of M. F. Villot, The "École Italienne" of the Vicomte Both de Tauzia, the Catalogue of "Dessins Cartons," etc., of M. Reiset, the two catalogues by M. de Tauzia, supplementary to that of M. Reiset, and the catalogue of the His. de la Salle. Drawings of Old Masters again by M. de Tauzia.

Nearly all the famous French art-critics have at one time or another written upon the pictures in the Louvre, and many of their articles will be found noted in the Bibliographies prefixed to special lives. Among the works upon the collections see Otto Mündler, Essai d'une analyse critique de la Notice des tableau italiens au Louvre, Paris, 1850; the Marquis Henri de Chennevières's Les Dessins du Louvre (see also M. Charles Ephrussi in special Bibliographies); Louis Courajod, Les Acquisitions du Musée du Louvre, La Sculpture Moderne au Louvre en 1880, Paris, 1881; F. A. Gruyer, Voyage autour du salon Carré au Musée du Louvre, Paris, 1891. A comprehensive and excellent book is that of G. Lafenestre and E. Richtenberger, La Peinture en Europe—Le Louvre, Paris, 1894, with one hundred illustrations. For Italian Art in French provincial Museums, see Mrs. Mary Logan, Notes sur les œuvres des Maîtres Italiens dans les Musées de province. Chronique des Arts, 1895, p. 363; Les Tableaux Italiens de Lille; Chronique des Arts, 1896, p. 317; Notes sur les œuvres des Maitres Italiens dans les Musées de province; Musées d'Amiens de Bayeux, Caen et Douai; Chronique des Arts, 1896, p. 328. See also M. Marcel Reymond, Le Musée de Lyon. Tableaux Anciens, Paris, 1887. And for a great number of articles upon especial pictures in the above collections, see the special Bibliographies in the present volumes.

MUSEUM OF BERLIN.—The Berlin collections have been very fully represented both in the Prussian Annuary and the foreign reviews. For Dr. Bode's

many articles in the Jahrbuch, see under the head of SCULPTURE of the Italian Renaissance; also his series of eight articles, La Renaissance au Musée de Berlin, in the Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1888–89, and his Italienische Plastik, Berlin, 1891. See also R. Dohme, Die Austellung von Gemälden alterer Meister in Berliner Privatbesitz, Berlin, 1883; Henry Thode, Pitture di Maestri italiani, nelle gallerie minori di Germania L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte, III., pp. 249–257, 1890; Fritz Harck, Quadri di Maestri italiani in possesso di privati a Berlino, L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte, II., pp. 205–214, 1889; III., pp. 169–174, 1890; IV., pp. 81–91, 1891; Quadri italiani nelle gallerie private di Germania, L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte, VI., pp. 385–390, 1893.

Fine catalogues of the Museum have been compiled by Drs. Max Jordan, Julius Meyer, Hugo Von Tschudi, and W. Bode. The last edition of the catalogue of paintings is of 1891 and contains a great number of excellent reproductions of the pictures in the collection.

PINACOTHEK OF MUNICH.—The latest catalogue of the paintings is that of Drs. Franz von Reber and Ad. Bayersdorfer, 1890, with good reproductions. There is an English edition, translated by Joseph Thatcher Clarke, no date. Mr. Charles L. Eastlake published Notes on Old Pinacothek, London, 1884.

DRESDEN GALLERY.—The catalogue for 1892 is by Karl Woermann. There is an English translation by B. S. Ward, and Miss Constance Jocelyn Ffoulkes has written a Handbook of the Italian Schools in the Dresden Gallery, London, 1888.

VIENNA GALLERY.—The latest edition of the catalogue is of 1895. (For Herr Wickhoff's essay on the drawings in Vienna see under the head of ITALIAN RENAISSANCE, DRAWINGS.)

MADRID GALLERY. The last catalogue is that of Don Pedro de Madrazo, 1893. See also G. Frizzoni, I Capolavori della pinacoteca del Prado in Madrid, L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte Italiana, VI., pp. 180–196, 268–289, 309–324. 1893.

GALLERY OF SAINT PETERSBURG (ERMITAGE IMPERIAL).—The latest catalogue of paintings is that of the Baron E. Brüningk and E. Somoff, 1891. It contains some good reproductions. Dr. Waagen published the Gemälde, etc., of St. Petersburg in 1870.

## ART PERIODICALS

MUCH of the best material contributed to Art History has been given first in the pages of the periodicals devoted to the history of Art and has afterward been published in book form while many important articles and series of articles can only be found in the reviews in which they originally appeared. A great number of local societies exists, these societies constantly contribute to the knowledge of the national and especially the regional art. (The magnificent work on Tuscan Architecture, commenced under the auspices of the Società di San Giorgio, is published in Munich and is almost wholly the work of German collaborators.) Among the prin-

cipal Italian reviews have been: L'Archivio Storico Lombardo. Milan. L'Archivio Veneto. Venice. L'Archivio Storico Italiano. 1842 *et seq.* L'Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria. La Nuova Rivista Misena. La Nuova Antologia di scienze lettere ed arti. Florence. Lettere ed Arti. Bologna. Giornale Storico degli Archivi Toscani. Giornale di Erudizione Artistica. 1872–77. Perugia. Memorie dell' Istituto Veneto. Italia, a monthly, published in English in Rome. Besides these there are many other Archivi or Riviste of societies, cities, and provinces. The Annali, Bolletino, etc., begun in Rome in 1859, refer principally to Ancient Art. L'Arte Italiana, decorativa e industriale, Venice, 1890, publication continued in Milan, is a superbly illustrated periodical referring to the decorative arts. The Italian Art Periodical which is most important from its numerous illustrations, its eminent contributors, and its articles referring to the art of all parts of the peninsula, is L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte Italiana, edited by Signor Domenico Gnoli. Rome, 1888. In spite of the fact that its illustrations cannot compare with those of certain transalpine periodicals, it may claim to be the leading review published upon the Art of Italy and of the Renaissance, including in its staff of contributors not only the best Italian, but also the best German, French, and English writers upon Art.

Among the German Art Periodicals cited in the present volumes are: Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst. Leipsic, 1866. Kunst-Chronik, Beiblatt zur Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst. Leipsic. Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft, Stuttgart, 1876, *seq.* Jahrbuch der königlichen preussischen Kunstsammlungen, Berlin, 1880, *seq.* Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses, Vienna, 1883, *seq.* Jahrbücher für Kunstwissenschaft, Leipsic, 1868–70, publication discontinued. Die Graphische Künste, Vienna. The Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte und Kunsttechnik des mittelalters und der Renaissance, are the admirable publications begun in 1875 by a society in Vienna.

Of these German periodicals the Jahrbuch der Königlichen preussischen Kunstsammlungen (Annuary of the Royal Prussian Art collections) may, in relation to the history of Italian Art, take the first place, by reason of the number and importance of its articles referring to Italian Art in Italy, and more especially in the Berlin Museum; its illustrations are also admirable. The illustrations to the Gräphischen Künste are superb, and it would be hard to surpass either for size or beauty the reproductions in the Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses; the articles in this latter Austrian Annuary referring to Italian Art are very long, but very few in number, and there are but few in the Gräphischen Künste. The Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst, on the other hand, has a great many, but they are often short, and the illustrations do not equal in beauty those of the Jahrbücher.

Among the French Art Periodicals are: La Gazette des Beaux-Arts. Paris, 1859 *et seq.* La Chronique des Arts, supplement to the Gazette. L'Art. Paris, 1875. Le Courrier de l'Art, supplement to L'Art. L'Artiste.

Of these the Gazette des Beaux-Arts, by reason of its long life (it antedates the Prussian Annuary by twenty-one years), added to its excellence, may claim the first place among art periodicals, although the size of its pages does not

admit of such sumptuous illustrations as some of those published in L'Art, and especially in the Austrian Annuary. Art writers are now to a great extent international, and the contributors to the principal French reviews are well known to readers of the Prussian Annuary and the Italian Archivio Storico dell' Arte, while Germans, Italians, and English alike contribute to the Gazette, etc.

Among English Art Periodicals are: The Magazine of Art, the Art Journal, and the admirable Portfolio, with its fine illustrations, but the contributions to the history of Italian Art of Dr. Richter, Mr. Colvin, Mr. Phillipps, Miss Paget, Miss Ffoulkes, Mrs. Logan, and the Misses Robinson, may also be found in the pages of foreign reviews.

England and America (as well as Germany and France) publish excellent periodicals devoted to the interests of Architecture (see also the Proceedings of the Royal Institute of British Architects), in which occur articles upon the buildings of the Renaissance. The American Journal of Archæology and of the Fine Arts, Princeton, N. J., refers principally to the art and archæology of Antiquity, but has also published interesting and important documents, articles, and illustrations bearing upon the Art of the Renaissance. The Architectural Record has contained many articles referring to the buildings of Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth century, and in European Architecture (Chicago, 1894 *et seq.*, a series of plates without text) the Italian Renaissance is not slighted; among other American journals, Architecture and Building, the Architects' and Builders' Review, the Brickbuilder, and Stone, reprint articles from foreign journals and print papers read before societies.

## REGIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY, ETC.

### FLORENCE

In Florence within a few years two events have taken place which may even be called sensational, so profoundly have they affected the appearance of the town which was at once the cradle of the Renaissance and one of its most splendid theatres.

One of these two events was the completion of the cathedral, which has been mentioned in these volumes. The second event was the destruction of the most historical portion of Florence, the centre, including the old market-place (*Mercato Vecchio*), with its *loggia*, its monumental column, and its four little churches. Palaces and Guild-houses, streets with historic names, such as "of the Knights," or of "St. Miniatus among the Towers," together with the famous Calimala Pellicceria and the Ghetto have been completely swept away to be replaced by brand-new shops, a great piazza, a statue of Victor Emmanuel, and a kind of triumphal arch. The Editors of these volumes spent eight months in Florence at the time when the demolition was done and saw building after building disappear. It must be admitted that dirty and narrow streets, unhealthy, sunless, malodorous, dangerous in time of epidemic, were destroyed, but the lovers of Renaissance-Florence felt a sharp pang of regret

and a sense of irrevocable loss as this wonderfully picturesque quarter, so rich in memories, so crowded with associations, melted away under the pick and arose in clouds of dust. For some time the fifteenth-century Guild-house of the Linajuoli remained untouched, like an island in a sea of rubbish, but at the time of the Editors' last visit to Florence, January, 1897, the little palace was gone and the desolation stopped only at the "Guild of Wool," just behind Or San Michele, while upon the other side of the piazza the demolitions extended nearly to the Strozzi Palace, reaching in the direction of the river to the Via Porta Rossa, and in the direction of the Duomo to the Quarter back of San Gaetano. Photographs were taken of many of the old streets before they were destroyed, but nothing can give an adequate idea of their curious picturesqueness.

On this subject of the demolitions the student may consult *Studi storici sul centro di Firenze della Commissione Communale*, 1889. *Album di Ricordi* (made by order of the Syndic Peruzzi).

The rearrangement of the pictures in the Academy, *Reale Galleria Antica e Moderna* (see the catalogue by Eugenio Pieraccini, 2d ed., 1893), is also an event of artistic importance. The old, ill-lighted, long gallery has been given to the least worthy pictures of the collection, while the fourteenth-century panels have been collected into two great groups, and the works of Botticelli, Filippino, Perugino, and their contemporaries, placed in a series of new rooms, receive far better lighting than they have had before and gain greatly in importance.

Recent books of much interest have been published by the Alinari; Signor I. B. Supino's *Campo Santo di Pisa*, Florence, 1896, and M. Marcel Reymond's *Sculpture Florentine du XIVme siècle*, Florence, 1897 (see the same author's articles in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* for 1893 *et seq.*), which is to be the first volume of a series upon Italian Sculpture.

M. Reymond insists upon the strong influence of the French school of sculpture, upon the Pisani and the Italians generally, and it must indeed be admitted by any unprejudiced visitor to Chartres, Rheims, Amiens, and Bourges, that such sculptures as are seen there, sculptures which existed before Niccola Pisano carved his pulpits, are eloquent witnesses to an influence that must have been profound and far-reaching. The Alinari are to publish a number of works upon Renaissance Art, and promise a volume on the Robbia school at some date in the near future. A short but curious and interesting study is that of Dr. Guido Biagi, The Private Life of the Renaissance Florentines, Florence, 1896, while Saunterings in Florence, by E. Grifi, is an excellent new historical hand-book. The event which to the student of Vasari is of the highest importance, is the commencement of the publication of a new *édition de grand luxe* of that author, edited and annotated by Signor Adolfo Venturi. Signor Venturi will publish only the "great lives." The volume already issued (Sansoni, 1896) is upon Gentile da Fabriano and Pisanello; it contains two pages of Vasari, with his text of both editions, one hundred and twenty-seven pages of notes, documents, etc., and ninety-six illustrations. It will be followed by the Life of Botticelli at some time during 1897-98, and it is understood that the publication of the series contemplated will extend over some thirty years to come.

For special Florentine bibliography not hitherto recorded in these volumes see for the Robbia school. Professor Allan Marquand, Andrea della Robbia's Assumption of the Virgin in the Metropolitan Museum of New York, American Journal of Archæology, VII., p. 422, 1891; Hunting della Robbia Monuments in Italy, American Journal of Archæology, VIII., p. 83, 1893; The Madonnas of Luca della Robbia, American Journal of Archæology, IX., p. 1, 1894, and for Ghiberti, by the same author, see A Terra-Cotta Sketch by Lorenzo Ghiberti, American Journal of Archæology, IX., p. 206, 1894. For Gentile da Fabriano and Pisanello, in addition to the edition of Vasari mentioned above, see Signor Adolfo Venturi in the Prussian *Jahrbuch* for 1895, where, in a long article, he makes the statement among others that Gentile worked in the Ducal Palace at Venice before 1414 instead of after 1422 as has been elsewhere affirmed. Signor Venturi, in addition, attributes to Pisanello the medal-portraits of L. B. Alberti which have been generally considered the work of Alberti himself. For Leonardo da Vinci, see Signor Nino Smiraglia Scognamiglio (L'Archivio *Storico dell' Arte Italiana*, November–December, 1896), reviewing the second edition of Uzielli's "Ricerche." The reviewer discusses M. Ravaisson-Mollien's statement that the famous letter to Lodovico Sforza is not in Leonardo's handwriting. Signor Scognamiglio asserts that he can prove by a letter in the Archives of Modena, written by Leonardo to Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, that the Sforza letter is genuine and that da Vinci had two different handwritings, one for hasty memoranda, another for letters to persons of importance. See also Signor Gustavo Frizzoni, *Léonard de Vinci et la Vierge aux Rochers*, *Chronique des Arts*, 1894, p. 221, and *Encore quelque réflections sur la Vierge aux Rochers de Léonard de Vinci*, *Chronique des Arts*, 1894, p. 308; also Prof. Strzygowski, *Studien zu Leonardo's Entwickelung als maler*, Prussian *Jahrbuch*, 1895. Botticelli is represented in the publication by Dr. Lippmann in Berlin of the famous illustrations to Dante. M. A. Gruyer in his book of 1897, *La Peinture au Chateau de Chantilly Ecoles Etrangères*, ascribes the so-called Simonetta in that gallery to Pollajuolo, and Signor Diego Angeli, in his article *Per un Quadro Eretico* (*Archivio Storico dell' Arte Italiana*, 1896, pp. 58–71), supports the statement of Herr Ulmann in his "Botticelli," that the famous so-called "heretical picture" in the National Gallery, and said by Vasari to have been painted for Matteo Palmieri by Botticelli, is in reality not by that painter at all but by one Botticini, an artist who worked with Filipepi and imitated his style. Several other critics, see the writings of Herr Schmarsow, have also pronounced themselves and decline to accept the attribution by Sandro. Mr. Berenson, in his Florentine Painters, etc., does not include it in his catalogue of Botticelli's works.

For further Bibliography not hitherto recorded in these volumes, which directly touches Florentine Art, see Gotti, A., *Storia del Palazzo Vecchio*, Florence, 1880, folio; *La Facciata di S. M. del Fiore*, Florence, 1890, folio; Delaborde and Haussoullier, *Les Maîtres Florentins du Quinzième Siècle*, *Trente Dessins*, etc. (drawings from the collection of M. Thiers); Leader Scott, The Orti Oricellari, to which is appended a catalogue of the Antiquities in Vincigliata Castle (see also the same author's Italian Sculpture, in the series of Art Hand-books illustrated by Sir E. J. Poynter). The announcement is made in London that Benvenuto Cellini's Treatises on bronze-found-

ing and the art of the goldsmith have just been translated for the first time into English by Mrs. George Simonds. M. Eugène Müntz has at last added Florence to his admirable series of Tuscan Cities, published in the *Tour du Monde*, and the whole has been issued in book form in 1897, under the title of *Florence et la Toscane.* It is understood that this learned historian of Italian Art has been for some time engaged upon an important work on Leonardo da Vinci.

### ROME

An elaborate restoration of the Borgia apartments in the Vatican is now being made and they will be open to the public in 1897. Great judgment will be required in the treatment (if they are touched at all) of frescoes which, as is the case with those of Pinturicchio, depend so much for their beauty upon the accidents which time and exposure have brought to their coloring.

It remains to be seen what the result of the restoration will be; much is expected, and it is to be hoped that much will be realized, since both scholars and artists have been enlisted in the work. Recent books of interest are the sumptuously printed *Tapisseries de Raphael au Vatican* by M. Eugène Müntz, Paris, 1896 (M. Müntz's recognized mastery of the subject and the many documents collected should make the book almost a definitive one), and *Le Vatican Les Papes et la Civilization*, Paris, 1895, by Georges Goyau, Andrè Pératé, and Paul Fabre, with an introduction by Cardinal Bourret and an epilogue by the Vicomte E. Melchior de Vogué. *Les Papes et les Arts*, pp. 408–640, and *La Bibliothèque Vaticane*, pp. 640–752, refer especially to the Renaissance. Upon this subject of Rome of the Popes, see also Mrs. Oliphant's Makers of Modern Rome, and for a long and copiously illustrated article upon The Villas of Rome, see Mr. Marcus T. Reynolds in the Architectural Record, New York, quarter ending March 31, 1897. (Mr. William H. Goodyear, in the same number, continues his studies upon Constructive Asymmetry in Mediæval Italian Churches, Pisa, Lucca, Prato, Troja, Orviete, Toscanella, Cremona, Viterbo, etc.) The student who wishes to follow the continuous development of the study of Italian Art must consult not only the *Archivio Storico dell' Arte Italiana*, the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, the Prussian *Jahrbuch*, the Portfolio, but also the Catalogues of the French, German, Italian, and English booksellers and the catalogues of photographs of the Alinari, Anderson, Braun, and Hanfstaengel, since the contributions to the literature of Italian Art become every year more numerous, and through the improvement of process-reproduction more valuable.

### MANTUA

The announcement is made that the Maison Rothschild will soon publish *Mantegna* by Charles Yriarte, in 3 volumes:—I. *L'Art et l'Histoire a Mantoue. La Vie de Mantegna, son œuvre sa Maison et son Tombeau.*—II. *Isabelle d'Este et les Artistes de son temps.*—III. *Mantone sons les Gonzague.* (See the same author's articles on Mantua in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts.*) Signori Luzio and Renier have continued their studies upon the ducal house of Mantua; to the works already mentioned in these volumes may be added:

A. Luzio, *Isabella d'Este e l'Orlando Inamorato*, Bologna, 1894, octavo; Rodolfo Renier, *Il tipo estetico della donna nel medio evo*, Ancona, 1885.

## VENICE

The Accademia has been entirely rearranged, and the gain is on the whole very great, though some pictures have lost by the new lighting. The old confused hanging of the works has given way to chronological grouping. The St. Ursula series of Carpaccio are placed together in an octagonal room, all being upon the eye-line; the scenes from the Miracle of the True Cross fill another room. Titian's Presentation of the Virgin at the Temple (see Vol. IV., p. 275) has been restored to the room and place for which it was originally painted. (The Accademia delle Belle Arti is in part the old building of the Carità.) As originally placed the picture was above two doors which cut away the right and left hand lower corners of the canvas; when the latter was removed to another wall these angles were pieced out and painted, legs being added to the figures at the left of the picture, etc. These additions have been removed and the picture is reduced to its old proportions. For special bibliography of Jacopo Bellini, see the Catalogue of the Louvre, Dessins, Deuxième Notice Supplémentaire, by the Vicomte Both de Tauzia; for the Academy see the new Catalogue (1895) by Angelo Conti. For studies upon Venetian architecture see H. Thode, in the Repertorium für kunstwissenschaft, 1895, in a comparison of three Gothic churches of Venice, the Frari, the Servi, and S. S. Giovanni e Paolo. Charles V. et son temps, by Aloiss Hess, is announced as forthcoming, and will probably contain interesting matter relating to Titian. The admirable series, La Peinture en Europe, by MM. Lafenestre and Richtenberger, is continued this year (1897) by the volume entitled Venise. Among Ongania's announcements or publications are three folio volumes on Tiepolo, one folio and two quartos upon drawings of the ancient masters. The Alinari of Florence have recently made many new photographs in Venice, and Anderson, of Rome, has just photographed the entire series of the Tintorettos in San Rocco.

## PADUA

In Padua the reconstruction by Signor Camillo Boito, the architect of Donatello's altar in Sant Antonio, has been completed. As it stands at present (January, 1897) the gilding on certain positions of the borderings is still somewhat garish, but will soon be toned by exposure. The top, sides, and back of the altar make a very fine appearance. The setting of the *Angioletti* in the lower part of the altar-front seems less happy than would have been a more weighty and massive arrangement. For a reproduction of it, see *Natura ed Arte*, March, 1896, article by Attilio Centelli. The Paduan municipality has recently photographed the entire series of Giotto's frescoes in Santa Maria dell' Arena, and the photographs, which are large and fairly good, can be obtained in the Chapel.

## MILAN

The recent artistic event in Milan is the restoration of the Castello. This enormous building was, until 1893, a barracks capable of holding a garrison of 24,000 men. The restoration in process under the care of the architect, Signor Luca Beltrami, has brought to light *loggie* and galleries which had been walled up and concealed by masonry, frescoes which had been hidden under whitewash, and sculptures which lay buried beneath plaster. The great towers of the angles are being replaced, the central tower is to be reconstructed and the handsome Gothic windows are reappearing in their original beauty. The extent and size of the rooms are amazing, and the whole enterprise promises to prove of the highest interest. For works referring to the Castello before its restoration, see Casati, Vicende edilizie del Castello di Milano, 1876; Mongeri, G., Il Castello di Milano, Milan, 1884; and for studies upon the alterations in progress, Beltrami, Luca, Guida Storica del Castello di Milano, 1368–1894. Milan, 1894. See especially the same author's Il Castello di Milano (Castrum Portæ Jovis) sotto il dominio dei Visconti e degli Sforza, 1368–1565. Milan, 1894.

Signor Carlo Romussi has commenced an interesting work, *Milano nei suoi Monumenti*, Milan, 1893, the second volume of which will shortly appear, while Signor Diego Sant' Ambrogio (with collaborators) has published, besides his Lodi, Carpiano, and Castiglione d'Olona, two volumes upon Milan, including the city and its suburbs. The Castle of Pavia and the famous Certosa, only a few miles from Milan, have both been closely connected with the annals of the reigning ducal families; for their bibliography, see D'Adda, G., *Indagini . . . sulla libreria Viscontes Sforzesca del Castello di Pavia*, Milan, 1875–78; Caffi, *Il Castello di Pavia*, Milan, 1876; Dell' Acqua, *Il Palazzo Ducale Viconti in Pavia*, Pavia, 1874; Magenta, *I Visconti e gli Sforza nel Castello di Pavia*, Milan, 1883; Beltrami, Luca, *La Certosa di Pavia*, Milan, 1895; Beltrami, Luca, *Storia documentata della Certosa di Pavia, Parte I., La Fondazione.*

# APPENDIX

## PART I

### INTRODUCTION TO THE SECOND PART[1]

When I first undertook to write these lives, it was not my purpose to make a mere list of the artists, or to give an inventory, so to speak, of their works. Nor could I by any means consider it a worthy end of my —I will not say satisfactory—but assuredly prolonged and fatiguing labours, that I should content myself with merely ascertaining the number, names, and country of the artists, or with informing my reader in what city or borough precisely, their paintings, sculptures, or buildings, were to be found. This I could have accomplished by a simple register or table, without the interposition of my own judgment in any part. But I have remembered that the writers of history,—such of them, that is to say, as by common consent are admitted to have treated their subject most judiciously,—have in no case contented themselves with a simple narration of the occurrences they describe, but have made zealous enquiry respecting the lives of the actors, and sought with the utmost diligence to investigate the modes and methods adopted by distinguished men for the furtherance of their various undertakings. The efforts of such writers have, moreover, been further directed to the examination of the points on which errors have been made, or, on the other hand, by what means successful results have been produced, to what expedients those who govern have had recourse, in what manner they have delivered themselves from such embarrassments as arise in the management of affairs; of all that has been effected, in short; whether sagaciously or injudiciously, whether by the exercise of prudence, piety, and greatness of mind, or by that of the contrary qualities, and with opposite results; as might be expected from men who are persuaded that history is in truth the mirror of human life. These writers have not contented

[1] As Vasari's so-called "Introduction to the First Part" of the Lives possesses little value it has been omitted. The Introductions to the Second and Third Parts are, on the contrary, remarkable for breadth of view and are not lacking in critical acumen; they are therefore printed here.

themselves with a mere dry narration of facts and events, occurring under this prince or in that republic, but have set forth the grounds of the various opinions, the motives of the different resolutions, and the character of the circumstances by which the prime movers have been actuated; with the consequences, beneficial or disastrous, which have been the results of all. This is, without doubt, the soul of history. From these details it is that men learn the true government of life; and to secure this effect, therefore, with the addition of the pleasure which may be derived from having past events presented to the view as living and present, is to be considered the legitimate aim of the historian.

Moved by these considerations, I determined, having undertaken to write the history of the noblest masters in our arts, to pursue the method observed by these distinguished writers, so far as my powers would permit; imitating these ingenious men, and desiring, above all things, to honour the arts, and those who labour in them. I have endeavoured, not only to relate what has been done, but to set forth and distinguish the better from the good, and the best from the better, the most distinguished from the less prominent qualities and works, of those who belong to our vocation. I have further sought, with diligence, to discriminate between the different methods, manners, and processes adopted and displayed by the different painters and sculptors, not omitting to notify their various phantasies, inventions, and modes of treatment, all of which I have investigated to the best of my ability, that I might the better make known to those who could not pursue the enquiry for themselves, the sources and causes of the different methods, as well as of that amelioration and deterioration of the arts which have been seen to take place at different periods, and by the agency of different persons.

In the First Part of these Lives I have spoken of the nobility and antiquity of these our arts, as at that point of our work was desirable, omitting many remarks by Pliny, and other writers, of which I might have availed myself, if I had not preferred—perhaps in opposition to the opinion of many readers—rather to permit that each should remain free to seek the ideas of others in their original sources. And this I did to avoid that prolixity and tediousness which are the mortal enemies of attention. But on this occasion it appears to me beseeming that I should do what I did not then permit myself—namely, present a more exact and definite explication of my purpose and intention, with the reasons which have led me to divide this collection of Lives into Three Parts.

It is an indubitable fact, that distinction in the arts is attained by one man through his diligent practice; by another, from his profound study; a third seeks it in imitation; a fourth by the acquirement of knowledge in the sciences, which all offer aid to the arts; others arrive at the de-

sired end by the union of many of these; some by the possession of all united. But as I have sufficiently discoursed, in the lives of various masters, of the modes, processes, and causes of all sorts, which have contributed to the good, the better, or the excellent results of their labours, so I will here discuss these matters in more general terms, and insist, rather, on the qualities which characterize periods, than on those which distinguish individuals. To avoid a too minute inquiry, I adopt the division into three parts, or periods—if we so please to call them—from the revival of the arts, down to the present century, and in each of these there will be found a very obvious difference. In the first, and most ancient, of these periods, we have seen that the three formative arts were very far from their perfection; and that, if it must be admitted that they had much in them that was good, yet this was accompanied by so much of imperfection, that those times certainly merit no great share of commendation. Yet, on the other hand, as it is by them that the commencement was made; as it was they who originated the method, and taught the way to the better path, which was afterwards followed, so, if it were but for this, we are bound to say nothing of them but what is good—nay, we must even accord to them a somewhat larger amount of glory than they might have the right to demand, were their works to be judged rigidly by the strict rules of art.[2]

In the second period, all productions were, obviously, much ameliorated; richer invention was displayed, with more correct drawing, a better manner, improved execution, and more careful finish. The arts were, in a measure, delivered from that rust of old age, and that coarse disproportion, which the rudeness of the previous uncultivated period had left still clinging to them. But who will venture to affirm that there could yet be found an artist perfect at all points! or one who had arrived at that position, in respect of invention, design, and colour, to which we have attained in the present day? Is there any one who has been able so carefully to manage the shadows of his figures, that the lights remain only on the parts in relief? or who has, in like manner, effected those perforations, and secured those delicate results, in sculpture, which are exhibited by the statues and rilievi of our own day? The credit of having effected this is certainly due to the third period only; respecting which it appears to me that we may safely affirm the arts to have effected all that it is permitted to the imitation of nature to perform, and to have reached such a point, that we have now more cause for apprehension lest they should again sink into depression, than ground for hope that they will ever attain to a higher degree of perfection.

[2] The praises which the author had previously bestowed on the works of the first period, and which might seem excessive, are here justified, and moderated at the same time.—*Ed. Flor.* of 1832–8.

Reflecting attentively within myself on all these things, I conclude that it is the peculiar nature, and distinctive characteristic of these arts, that, rising from mean beginnings, they should proceed to elevate themselves, by gradual effort, and should finally attain to the summit of perfection; and I am confirmed in this opinion by the perception of an almost similar mode of progression in others of the liberal arts. And since there is a close relationship between them all, I am strengthened in the conviction that this, my view, is the just one. With respect to painting and sculpture more especially, their fate, in older times, must have been so exactly alike, that we have only to make a certain change in the names, when the same facts might be related of each For if the writers who lived near to those times, and who could see and judge of their works, be worthy of credit, the statues of Canacus were stiff, hard, without life or movement of any kind, and therefore very unlike the reality. The same thing has been affirmed respecting the works of Calamis, although they are described as possessing somewhat more of softness than those of the first-named artist. Then came Miron, who, if he did not very closely approach to the successful imitation of nature, did yet impart to his works such an amount of grace, and correct proportion, that they could be justly called beautiful. In the third degree, there followed Policletus, with the other masters so highly celebrated, and by whom, as is affirmed—and we are bound to believe—the art was carried to its entire perfection. A similar progress must have been perceived in painting also. Writers declare, and it is reasonable to suppose that they do so on just grounds, that the works of those artists who painted with one colour only, and from that circumstance were called Monochromatists, did not display a very high degree of perfection. In respect to the works of Zeuxis, Polygnotus, Timanthes, and others, who used only four colours, the outlines, contours, and lineaments of their figures were invariably commended; yet there doubtless remained something still to be desired. But in the works of Erion,[3] Nicomacus, Protogenes, and Apelles, everything was seen to be perfect, and most beautiful; nothing better could be even imagined, these masters having not only depicted the forms, attitudes, and movements of their figures most admirably, but also attained the power of eloquently expressing the affections and passions of the soul.

But, to leave these masters, respecting whom we are compelled to confide in the opinions of others, who do not always agree among themselves; nay, what is worse, whose testimony, even as to the periods, is frequently at variance;—let us come to our own times, wherein we have

[3] This name is not to be found among the Greek Painters enumerated by Pliny, and by his copyist Adriani. There is, indeed, an "Echion." "Erion," therefore, is to be accounted an error of the press.

the guidance of our eyes—a much safer and better conductor and judge than hearsay. Do we not clearly see to what extent architecture had been ameliorated, from the Greek Buschetto—to begin with one of the most distinguished masters—to the German Arnolfo,[4] and to Giotto? For our perfect conviction of this truth, we need only to glance at the fabrics of the earlier period: the pilasters, the columns, the bases, the capitals, and the cornices, with their ill-formed members, as we see them, for example, in Santa Maria del Fiore, in Florence; in the exterior incrustations of San Giovanni; at San Miniato al Monte; in the cathedral of Fiesole; the Duomo of Milan; the church of San Vitale at Ravenna; that of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome; and the Duomo Vecchio, outside the city of Arezzo,[5] wherein, with the exception of those few fragments from the antique, which remain in different parts, there is nothing which deserves to be called good, whether as regards arrangement or execution. But, by the masters above named, architecture was, without doubt, greatly ameliorated, and the art made considerable progress under their influence, since they brought the various parts to more correct proportion, and not only erected their buildings in a manner which imparted strength and durability, but also added the grace of ornament to certain parts of them. It is, indeed, true that their decorations were complicated, confused, and very far from perfection, so that they could scarcely be said to contribute in any great measure to the beauty of the fabric. In the columns, for example, the measure and proportion required by the rules of art were not observed, nor were the orders distinguished, whether Doric, Corinthian, Ionic, or Tuscan; all were mingled together, after a rule of their own, which was no rule at all, and were constructed of excessive thickness, or exceedingly slender,[6] as seemed good in their eyes. Their inventions were partly confused notions of their own, partly as irregular adaptations of the ancient relics with which they were acquainted. Their plans were derived in part from good sources, but partly also from their own caprices; insomuch, that when the walls were raised, they sometimes presented a very different form from that of their so-called model. But, notwithstanding all this, whoever compares the labours of that period with those of an earlier day, will see that they had materially improved in all respects, even though there should still be found many particulars wherein the critics of our times find cause for dissatisfaction; as, for example,

[4] Buschetto was not a Greek, and Arnolfo not a German.

[5] Vasari confounds buildings differing greatly in style.

[6] This confusion of order, and deformity of parts, proceeded principally, as we have remarked elsewhere, from the circumstance that fragments of ancient edifices were employed for the construction of the new ones; yet some of these—as the Baptistery of Pisa—may safely invite comparison with buildings of an earlier date.

the small oratories constructed of brick, covered over with stucco, at San Giovanni Laterano, in Rome.

The same remarks may be applied to sculpture, which, at the first moment of its revival, had some remains of excellence. Being once freed from the rude Byzantine manner, which was, indeed, so coarse that the works produced in it displayed more of the roughness of the raw material, than of the genius of the artist; those statues of theirs being wholly destitute of flexibility, attitude, or movement of any kind, and their draperies entirely without folds, so that they could scarcely be called statues—all this became gradually ameliorated, and when Giotto had improved the art of design, the figures of marble and stone improved also: those of Andrea Pisano, of his son Nino, and of his other disciples, were greatly superior to the statues that had preceded them; less rigid and stiff, displaying some approach to grace of attitude, and in all respects better. The works of the two Sienese masters, Agostino and Agnolo, may here be particularized (by whom, as we have before related, the sepulchre of Guido, bishop of Arezzo, was constructed), and those of the Germans,[7] by whom the façade of the cathedral of Orvieto was executed: upon the whole, therefore, sculpture was at this time perceived to make some little progress,—its figures received less rigid forms; the vestments were permitted to flow more freely; certain of the attitudes lost a portion of their stiffness, and some of the heads acquired more life and expression. There was, in short, a commencement of effort to reach the better path, but defects still remained in great numbers on every point; the art of design had not yet attained its perfection, nor were there many good models for the artists of those times to imitate. All these impediments and difficulties considered, the masters of those days, and who have been placed by me in the first period, deserve all the praise and credit that can be awarded to their works, since it must not be forgotten that they had received no aid from those who preceded them, but had to find their way by their own efforts. Every beginning, moreover, however insignificant and humble in itself, is always to be accounted worthy of no small praise.

Nor had painting much better fortune during those times; but the devotion of the people called it more frequently into use, and it had more artists employed; by consequence, the progress made by it was more obvious than that of the two sister arts. Thus we have seen that the Greek, or Byzantine manner, first attacked by Cimabue, was afterwards entirely extinguished by the aid of Giotto, and there arose a new one, which I would fain call the manner of Giotto, since it was discovered

[7] See the life of Andrea Pisano, and also M. Marcel Reymond, in the Gazette des Beaux-Arts, also Nardini Despotti Mospignotti, *Il sistema tricuspidale e la facciata del Duomo di Firenze.*

by him, continued by his disciples, and finally honoured and imitated by all. By Giotto and his disciples, the hard angular lines by which every figure was girt and bound, the senseless and spiritless eyes, the long pointed feet planted upright on their extremities, the sharp, formless hands, the absence of shadow, and every other monstrosity of those Byzantine painters, were done away with, as I have said; the heads received a better grace and more softness of colour. Giotto himself, in particular, gave more easy attitudes to his figures; he made some approach to vivacity and spirit in his heads, and folded his draperies, which have more resemblance to reality than those of his predecessors; he discovered, to a certain extent, the necessity of foreshortening the figure, and began to give some intimation of the passions and affections, so that fear, hope, anger, and love were, in some sort, expressed by his faces. The early manner had been most harsh and rugged; that of Giotto became softer, more harmonious, and—if he did not give his eyes the limpidity and beauty of life, if he did not impart to them the speaking movement of reality, let the difficulties he had to encounter plead his excuse for this, as well as for the want of ease and flow in the hair and beards: or if his hands have not the articulations and muscles of nature, if his rude figures want the reality of life, let it be remembered that Giotto had never seen the works of any better master than he was himself. And let all reflect on the rectitude of judgment displayed by this artist in his paintings, at a time when art was in so poor a state; on the large amount of ability by which alone he could have produced the results secured; for none will deny that his figures perform the parts assigned to them, or that in all his works are found proofs of a just—if not a perfect—judgment, in matters pertaining to his art. The same quality is evinced by his successors, by Taddeo Gaddi, for example, whose colouring is distinguished by greater force, as well as more softness, whose figures have more spirit and movement, whose carnations are more lifelike, and his draperies more flowing. In Simon of Siena we mark increased facility in the composition of the stories. In Stefano the Ape [8] (Stefano Scimia), and in Tommaso his son, we see important ameliorations of the practice in design, as well as in the general treatment and harmony of colouring. By these masters the study of perspective, also, was promoted, to the great benefit of art. They displayed some fertility of invention, with softness and harmony of colouring, but adhered closely to the manner of Giotto. Not inferior to these in ability or practice were Spinello Aretino, Parri, his son, Jacopo di Casentino, Antonio Veneziano, Lippo, Gherardo Starnina, and the other masters who succeeded Giotto, and imitated his manner, outline, expression, and colour; these they perhaps improved, in some degree, but not to such an extent

[8] *Lo Scimia della natura, the ape of nature.*

as to give the impression that they proposed to originate a new direction. He, therefore, who shall carefully consider this my discourse, will perceive that these three arts—Sculpture, Painting, and Architecture—have, up to the times here alluded to, been, so to speak, but roughly sketched out, and have wanted very much of their due perfection; insomuch, that if they had not made further progress, the slight improvements here enumerated would have availed but little, neither would they have merited to be held of much account. Nor would I have any to suppose me so dull of perception, or endowed with so little judgment, as not to perceive that the works of Giotto, of Andrea Pisano, of Nino, and all the rest, whom, because of their similitude of manner, I have placed together in the first part, could claim but a small amount of praise, if compared with those of their successors, or that I did not perceive this when I commended them. But, whoever will consider the character of the times in which these masters laboured, the dearth of artists, with the difficulty of obtaining any assistance of value, will admit—not only that they are beautiful, as I have said—but even that they are wonderful; and will doubtless take infinite pleasure in the examination of those first beginnings, those gleams of light and good which then began to be rekindled in the paintings and sculptures of the day. The victory of Lucius Marcius, in Spain, was assuredly not so great, but that the Romans had won much more important triumphs, yet, as they had regard to the period, to the place, to the peculiarities of the occasion, to those engaged, and the number of the combatants, it was admitted to be stupendous, and is even yet held to be worthy of the praises which have been perpetually and largely bestowed on it by the different historians. And thus it has appeared to me, that, for all the above-named causes, I am bound, not only to describe the lives of the older masters with all possible diligence, but likewise to apportion to each his due measure of praise, with all love and confidence, as I have done. Nor do I think that it can be wearisome to my brother artists to hear these, my narrations, or to see the manner of those masters considered, nay, they may possibly derive no small aid from my work. The conviction of this would be most grateful to me, and I should consider it the dearest reward for my labours, in which I have sought no other end than their benefit, and to administer,—so far as I am able—to their enjoyment.

And now that we have raised these three arts, so to speak, from their cradle, and have conducted them through their childhood, we come to the second period, in which they will be seen to have infinitely improved at all points: the compositions comprise more figures; the accessories and ornaments are richer, and more abundant; the drawing is more correct, and approaches more closely to the truth of nature; and, even where no great facility or practice is displayed, the works yet evince

much thought and care; the manner is more free and graceful; the colouring more brilliant and pleasing, insomuch that little is now required to the attainment of perfection in the faithful imitation of nature. By the study and diligence of the great Filippo Brunelleschi, architecture first recovered the measures and proportions of the antique, in the round columns as well as in the square pilasters, and the rusticated and plain angles. Then it was that the orders were first distinguished one from another, and that the difference between them was made manifest. Care was taken that all should proceed according to rule; that a fixed arrangement should be adhered to, and that the various portions of the work should each receive its due measure and place. Drawing acquired force and correctness, a better grace was imparted to the buildings erected, and the excellence of the art was made manifest: the beauty and variety of design required for capitals and cornices were restored; and, while we perceive the ground plans of churches and other edifices to have been admirably laid at this period, we also remark that the fabrics themselves were finely proportioned, magnificently arranged, and richly adorned, as may be seen in that astonishing erection, the cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore, in Florence, and in the beauty and grace of its lantern; in the graceful, rich, and variously ornamented church of Santo Spirito; and in the no less beautiful edifice of San Lorenzo; or again, in the fanciful invention of the octangular church of the Angioli; in the light and graceful church and convent belonging to the abbey of Florence; and in the magnificent and lordly commencement of the Pitti Palace, to say nothing of the vast and commodious edifice constructed by Francesco di Giorgio, in the church and palace of the Duomo, at Urbino; of the strong and rich castle of Naples; or of the impregnable fortress of Milan, and many other remarkable erections of that time. And if, in certain portions of the works executed during that period,—in the cornices, for example, in the light carving of foliage, and delicate finish of other ornaments,—we fail to perceive the exquisite refinement and grace exhibited in later times, as will be seen in the Third Part of my book, we are yet bound to admit that they are, to a certain extent, good and beautiful, although we may not accord to them the praise due to those who afterwards displayed a perfection of lightness, richness, grace, and refinement, equalled only by the best architects of antiquity. We do not, then, consider the second period perfect; for we have seen later times produce works superior, and may therefore reasonably affirm that something was still wanting. Certain individual works then executed are indeed so admirable, that nothing better has been accomplished, even to our own times, nor perhaps will be in times to come—as, for example, the lantern of the cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore; or, for grandeur, we may instance the noble cupola itself, wherein Filippo had not only

the courage to imitate the ancients as to the vastness of the erection, but even surpassed them in the height of the walls. But we are here speaking in general terms of a period, and are not permitted to infer the excellence of the whole from the undisputed goodness, or even perfection, of a part.

What is here said of architecture, may, with equal propriety be affirmed of painting and sculpture, in both of which are still to be seen many extraordinary works executed by the masters of the second period, as that of Masaccio in the church of the Carmine, for example, where the artist has depicted a naked figure shivering with the cold, besides many spirited and life-like forms, in other pictures. But, speaking generally, the second period did not attain to the perfection exhibited by the third, and of which we propose to speak in due time. For the present we have to occupy ourselves with the second, wherein—to speak first of the sculptors—the art made so decided an improvement on the manner of the first, as to leave but little remaining for the third to accomplish. The method adopted by the masters of the second period was so much more efficient, their treatment so much more natural and graceful, their drawing so much more accurate, their proportions so much more correct, that their statues began to assume the appearance of living men, and were no longer lifeless images of stone, as were those of the earlier day. Of this there will be found proof in the part we are now about to treat, wherein the works of the Sienese, Jacopo della Quercia, will be remarked as possessing more life and grace, with more correct design, and more careful finish; those of Filippo Brunelleschi exhibit a finer developement and play of the muscles, with more accurate proportions, and a more judicious treatment—remarks which are alike applicable to the works produced by the disciples of these masters. Still more was performed by Lorenzo Ghiberti, in his work of the gates of San Giovanni: fertility of invention, judicious arrangement, correct design, and admirable treatment, being all alike conspicuous in these wonderful productions, the figures of which seem to move and possess a living soul. Donato also lived at the same period, but respecting this master, I could not for some time determine whether I were not called on to place him in the third epoch, since his productions are equal to good works of antiquity;—certain it is, that if we assign him to the second period, we may safely affirm him to be the type and representative of all the other masters of that period; since he united within himself the qualities which were divided among the rest, and which must be sought among many, imparting to his figures a life, movement, and reality which enable them to bear comparison with those of later times —nay even, as I have said, with the ancients themselves.

Similar progress was made at the same time in painting, which the ex-

cellent and admirable Masaccio delivered entirely from the manner of Giotto, as regards the heads, the carnations, the draperies, buildings, and colouring; he also restored the practice of foreshortening, and brought to light that modern manner which, adopted in his own time, has been followed by all artists, and is pursued by our own, even to this day; gradually receiving the addition of a better grace, more fertile invention, and richer ornament; embellished and carried forward, in short, as may be seen more particularly set forth in the life of each artist; nor can we fail to remark that a new mode of colouring and foreshortening was introduced, with more natural attitudes, and a much more effectual expression of feeling in the gestures and movements of the body, art seeking to approach the truth of Nature by more correct design, and to exhibit so close a resemblance to the countenance of the living man, that each figure might at once be recognized as the person for whom it was intended. Thus the masters constantly endeavoured to reproduce what they beheld in Nature, and no more; their works became, consequently, more carefully considered and better understood. This gave them courage to impose rules of perspective, and to carry the foreshortenings precisely to the point which gives an exact imitation of the relief apparent in Nature and the real form. Minute attention to the effects of light and shade, and to various difficulties of the art, succeeded, and efforts were made to produce a better order of composition. Landscapes, also, were attempted. Tracts of country, trees, shrubs, flowers, the clouds, the air, and other natural objects, were depicted, with some resemblance to the realities represented, insomuch that we may boldly affirm, that these arts had not only become ennobled, but had attained to that flower of youth from which the fruit afterwards to follow might reasonably be looked for, and hope entertained that they would shortly reach the perfection of their existence.

We will now then, with the help of God, give commencement to the life of Jacopo della Quercia, the Sienese, and afterwards narrate those of other architects and sculptors until we reach that of Masaccio, who, being, as he was, the first to ameliorate the practice of design among painters, may be said to have contributed largely to the new revival of art. I have selected Jacopo della Quercia for the honoured leader of this Second Part, and, following the order of the different manners, I will gradually proceed to lay open and elucidate in the lives themselves, the difficulties of these beautiful, laborious, and most honourable arts.

## INTRODUCTION TO THE THIRD PART

Truly important was the progress towards perfection which was secured to the arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture, by means of the excellent masters whose works we have described in the second part of these Lives. Rule, order, proportion, design, and manner, have all been added by them to the characteristics exhibited by those of the first period, if not in the utmost perfection, yet making so near an approach to the truth, that the masters of the third period, of which we are henceforward to treat, have been enabled, by the light thus afforded them, to reach that summit which the best and most renowned of modern works prove them to have attained.

But to the end that the character of the amelioration effected by the above-mentioned artists, the masters of the second period, namely, may be more clearly understood, it may not be out of place to describe, in few words, the five distinctive properties, or characteristics, which I have just enumerated, and briefly to declare the origin of that truly good manner, which, surpassing that of the older period, has contributed to render the modern era so glorious. To begin with the first-mentioned, therefore: the Rule in architecture was the process of measuring works of antiquity, and considering the plans and ground-work of ancient edifices in the construction of modern buildings. Order was the division of one mode from another, to the end that each might have the parts appropriate to itself, and that the Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and Tuscan might no longer be mingled and interchanged. Proportion was the universal law prevailing in architecture as in sculpture, which demanded that all bodies should be exact and correct in form with all the members justly and duly organized: this was equally enforced in painting. Design was the imitation of the most beautiful parts of nature in all figures, whether sculptured or painted, and this requires that the hand and mind of the artist should be capable of reproducing, with the utmost truth and exactitude, on paper, panel, or such other level surface as may be used, whatever the eye beholds—a remark that also applies to works of relief in sculpture. Finally, Manner attained its highest perfection from the practice of frequently copying the most beautiful objects, and of afterwards combining the most perfect, whether the hand, head, torso, or leg, and joining them together to make one figure, invested with every beauty in its highest perfection: to do this in every figure for all the works executed, is what is called fine manner. These things neither Giotto, nor any other of the early masters, treated of in the first period, had done, although they had discovered the sources of all the difficulties in art, and even attained to a superficial knowledge

thereof: thus their drawing was more correct, and made a closer approach to nature than had previously been seen; they displayed more harmony in colouring, and a better disposition of their figures in historical composition, with many other qualities of which we have sufficiently discoursed. The masters of the second period, although they effected very important ameliorations in art, as to all the characteristics described above, were yet not so far advanced as to be capable of conducting it to its ultimate perfection; there was yet wanting to their rule a certain freedom which, without being exactly of the rule is directed by the rule, and is capable of existing without causing confusion or disturbing the order, which last demanded a rich variety in invention, ever ready for all points, with a certain perception of beauty, even in the most trifling accessories, which amply secures the order and adds a higher degree of ornament. In proportion, there was still wanting that rectitude of judgment which, without measurement, should give to every figure, in its due relation, a grace exceeding measurement. In drawing, the highest eminence had not been attained; for although the arm was made round and the leg straight, there was yet not that judicious treatment of the muscles, nor that graceful facility, which holds the medium between suffering them to be seen but not displaying them, which is apparent in the life: the masters, on the contrary, had, in this respect, something crude and excoriated in their practice, producing an effect that was displeasing to the eye and which gave hardness to the manner. This last wanted the grace which imparts lightness and softness to all forms, more particularly to those of women and children, which should be represented with as much truth to nature as those of men, but with a roundness and fulness, never bordering on coarseness, as may sometimes happen in nature, but which in the drawing should be refined and ennobled by the judgment of the artist. Variety and beauty in the vestments were also wanting, with many other rich and multiform fancies. The charm of colouring, namely, the diversity of buildings, the distance and changeful character of landscape; for although many did begin—as, for example, Andrea Verrocchio, Antonio del Pollaiuolo, and many still later—to give more study to their figures, to improve the drawing, and to increase their similitude to nature; they had, nevertheless, not succeeded fully, although they had attained to greater firmness, and were proceeding in a direction tending towards the right path. That this last assertion is true may be seen even by a comparison with the antique, as is proved by the figure of Marsyas, of which Andrea Verrocchio executed the legs and arms for the palace of the Medici, in Florence: but there is still wanting a certain delicacy of finish, and that ultimate charm of perfection in the feet, hands, hair, and beard, which alone can fully satisfy the cultivated judgment and the refined taste of

the master in art; even though the limbs are, upon the whole, in just accord with the part of the antique statue still remaining, and although there is without doubt a certain harmony in the proportions.

Had these masters attained to that minuteness of finish which constitutes the perfection and bloom of art, they would also have displayed power and boldness in their works, when the result would have been a lightness, beauty, and grace which are not now to be found, although we perceive proofs of diligent endeavour, but which are, nevertheless, always secured to beautiful figures by the highest efforts of art, whether in sculpture or painting. Nor could this last perfection—this certain somewhat thus wanting—be readily obtained, seeing that, from much study, the manner derives a sort of dryness, when it is from study alone that men are labouring to force that highest finish. But to those who came after, success was rendered possible, from the time when they beheld those works of ancient art, which Pliny enumerates as among the most justly celebrated drawn forth from the recesses of the earth for their benefit. The Laocoon namely, the Hercules, the mighty Torso of the Belvedere, with the Venus, the Cleopatra, the Apollo, and many others, in which softness and power are alike visible, which display roundness and fulness justly restrained, and which, reproducing the most perfect beauty of nature, with attitudes and movements wholly free from distortion, but turning or bending gracefully in certain parts, exhibit everywhere the flexibility and ease of nature, with the most attractive grace. These statues caused the disappearance of that hard, dry sharpness of manner which had been still left in art, by the too anxious study of Piero della Francesco, Lazzaro Vasari, Alesso Baldovinetti, Andrea dal Castagno, Pesello, Ercole Ferrarese, Giovan Bellini, Cosimo Roselli, the Abbot of San Clemente, Domenico Ghirlandajo, Sandro Botticelli, Andrea Mantegna, Filippo Lippi, and Luca Signorelli.

These masters had laboured by unremitting effort to produce the impossible in art, more especially in foreshortenings or in objects displeasing to the sight, and which, as they were difficult in the execution, so are they unattractive to those who behold them. It is true that the greater part of their works were well drawn and free from errors, but there were wanting to them that certainty and firmness of handling, that harmony in the colouring, which may be perceived in the works of Francia, of Bologna, and of Pietro Perugino, but are never to be found in those of which we have now been speaking. When the last-mentioned masters commenced this new treatment, people rushed like madmen to behold that unwonted and life-like beauty, believing then that it would be absolutely impossible ever to do better; but the error of this judgment was clearly demonstrated soon after by the works of Leonardo da Vinci, with whom began that third manner, which we will agree to call

the modern; for, in addition to the power and boldness of his drawing, and to say nothing of the exactitude with which he copied the most minute particulars of nature exactly as they are, he displays perfect rule, improved order, correct proportion, just design, and a most divine grace; abounding in resource, and deeply versed in art, he may be truly said to have imparted to his figures, not beauty only, but life and movement.

After Leonardo there followed, even though somewhat distantly, Giorgione da Castel Franco, whose pictures are painted with much delicacy, and who gave extreme force and animation to his works by a certain depth of shadow, very judiciously managed; nor are the works of Fra Bartolommeo di San Marco less worthy of commendation, for the force, relief, and softness imparted to them by the master. But above all is to be distinguished the most graceful Raffaello da Urbino, who, examining and studying the works both of the earlier and later masters, took from all their best qualities, and, uniting these, enriched the domain of art with paintings of that faultless perfection anciently exhibited by the figures of Apelles and Zeuxis; nay, we might even say more perchance, could the works of Raffaello be compared or placed together with any by those masters; nature herself was surpassed by the colours of Raphael, and his invention was so easy and original, that the historical pieces of his composition are similar to legible writings, as all may perceive who examine them: in his works, the buildings, with their sites and all surrounding them, are as the places themselves, and whether treating our own people or strangers, the features, dresses, and every other peculiarity were at pleasure represented, with equal ease. To the countenances of his figures Raphael imparted the most perfect grace and truth; to the young as to the old, to men as to women; each and all have their appropriate character, for the modest he reserved an expression of modesty, to the licentious he imparted a look of licentiousness; his children charm us, now by the exquisite beauty of the eyes and expression, now by the spirit of their movement and the grace of their attitudes; his draperies are neither too rich and ample, nor too simple and meagre in their folds, still less are they complicated or confused, but all are so arranged and ordered in such a manner, that they appear to be indeed what they represent.

In the same manner, but softer in colouring and evincing less force, there followed Andrea del Sarto, who may be said to have been remarkable, were it only because his works were free from errors. It would be easy to describe the charming vivacity imparted to his paintings by Antonio Correggio; this master painted the hair of his figures in a manner altogether peculiar, separating the waves or tresses, not in the laboured, sharp, and dry manner practised before his time, but with a feathery softness, permitting each hair, in the light and easily flowing

masses, to be distinguished, while the whole has a golden lustre, more beautiful than that of life itself, insomuch that the reality is surpassed by his colours.

Similar effects were produced by Francesco Mazzola, of Parma (Parmigianino), who was superior even to Correggio, in many respects excelling him in grace, in profusion of ornament, and in beauty of manner; this may be seen in many of his pictures, wherein the countenances smile, as in nature, while the eyes look forth with the most life-like animation, or in other cases wherein the spectator perceives the pulses actually beating, accordingly as it pleased the pencil of the artist to portray them.

But whoever shall examine the mural paintings of Polidoro and Maturino, will see figures in such attitudes as it would seem almost impossible to represent, and will inquire, with amazement, how they have found means, not to describe in discourse, which might easily be done, but to depict with the pencil, all the extraordinary circumstances exhibited by them with so much facility; nor can we sufficiently marvel at the skill and dexterity with which they have represented the deeds of the Romans, as they really happened.

Many others have there been who have given life to the figures depicted by them, but are now themselves numbered with the dead, as for example, Il Rosso, Fra Sebastiano, Giulio Romano, and Perin del Vaga; of living artists, who are rendering themselves most widely known by their own acts, it needs not that I should now speak, but a fact which belongs to the universal history of our art may be here mentioned, namely, that the masters have now brought it to a degree of perfection which renders it possible for him who possesses design, invention, and colouring, to produce six pictures in one year, whereas formerly those earlier masters of our art, could produce one picture only in six years; to the truth of this I can bear indubitable testimony, both from what I have seen and from what I have done, while the paintings are nearer to perfection, and more highly finished, than were formerly those of the most distinguished masters.

But he who bears the palm from all, whether of the living or the dead; he who transcends and eclipses every other, is the divine Michelagnolo Buonarroti, who takes the first place, not in one of these arts only, but in all three. This master surpasses and excels not only all those artists who have well nigh surpassed nature herself, but even all the most famous masters of antiquity, who did, beyond all doubt, vanquish her most gloriously: he alone has triumphed over the later as over the earlier, and even over nature herself, which one could scarcely imagine to be capable of exhibiting any thing, however extraordinary, however difficult, that he would not, by the force of his most divine

genius, and by the power of his art, design, judgment, diligence, and grace, very far surpass and excel; nor does this remark apply to painting and the use of colours only, wherein are, nevertheless, comprised all corporeal forms, all bodies, direct or curved, palpable or impalpable, visible or invisible, but to the exceeding roundness and relief of his statues also. Fostered by the power of his art, and cultivated by his labours, the beautiful and fruitful plant has already put forth many and most noble branches, which have not only filled the world with the most delicious fruits, in unwonted profusion, but have also brought these three noble arts to so admirable a degree of perfection, that we may safely affirm the statues of this master to be, in all their parts, more beautiful than the antique. If the heads, hands, arms, or feet of the one be placed in comparison with those of the other, there will be found in those of the modern a more exact rectitude of principle, a grace more entirely graceful, a much more absolute perfection, in short, while there is also in the manner, a certain facility in the conquering of difficulties, than which it is impossible even to imagine any thing better; and what is here said applies equally to his paintings, for if it were possible to place these face to face with those of the most famous Greeks and Romans, thus brought into comparison, they would still further increase in value, and be esteemed to surpass those of the ancients in as great a degree as his sculptures exceed all the antique. But if the most renowned masters of old times, who, stimulated as they were by excessive rewards, produced their works amidst all the delights that fortune can bestow, obtain so large a share of our admiration, how much more highly should we not celebrate and extol even to the heavens those most wonderful artists, who, not only without reward, but in miserable poverty, bring forth fruits so precious? It is, therefore, to be believed, and may be affirmed, that if, in this our day, the due remuneration were accorded to upright effort, there would be still greater and much better works executed, than were ever produced by the ancients. But since artists have now rather to combat with, and struggle against poverty, than to strive after and labour for fame, so is their Genius miserably crushed and buried, nor does this state of things permit them (reproach and shame to those who could bring the remedy, but who give themselves no trouble concerning the matter), but to make their true value adequately known. But we have said enough on that subject, and it is time that we return to the Lives, proposing to treat circumstantially of all those who have performed celebrated works in the third manner; the first of whom was Leonardo da Vinci, with whom we will, therefore, begin.

# PART II

WITHIN a few years the Italian Government, fully awakened to the value of art-works as a national property, has taken measures to prevent the alienation of the same, passing laws, instituting a purchasing fund, requiring a sort of census of works of art, etc. The question has proved a very difficult one, involving as it does the rights of individuals on the one side, of the nation on the other.

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